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The Great Seal Deputed of New Jersey

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When, in 1702, the Proprietors of East and West Jersey surrendered the government of their territories to the British Crown, one of the essential cogs in the new machinery of government which had to be supplied from England was a Great Seal Deputed for the new royal colony.[1] The authority of the Crown was exercised through the Governor; writs ran in the King's name; proclamations and grants of land, laws passed by the colony's legislature and grants of office all required some recognizable and legal sign of authentication, and such a sign was provided by the Great Seal Deputed of the colony. Despite

The Writer, County Archivist of Berkshire, England, kindly contributed the accompanying article upon the invitation of Dr. Richard P. McCormick, Fellow and former President of the New Jersey Historical Society.

[1]The term "Great Seal Deputed" is used in English seal nomenclature to denote those seals which, over the course of centuries, have taken the place of the one Great Seal of the realm for the authentication of documents, which at one time would have been authenticated by the Great Seal itself. As government became more complex and its ramification more widespread, the use of the one Great Seal became impossible, and so other seals fulfilled its tasks, some of them specifically being called [Great] Seals Deputed for particular business. Of this category of seal, those for use in the British colonies show the widest divergence from the traditional pattern of Great Seals and are probably the most interesting of them all.

the fact that New Jersey, until 1738, had no separate Governor but shared one with the neighboring colony of New York, it was a separate colony with its own legislative body, its own legal and administrative organization and its own financial system. For the authentication of its laws and the more important formal official documents, New Jersey needed its own seal.

With the details of the use of the seal and the diplomatic of the seal of New Jersey, this article has no concern. The writer's interest is limited to the history of the seals as physical objects, and this limited interest in the case of New Jersey must be excused on the ground that he is preparing a detailed study of the whole field of Great Seals Deputed of the British colonies, past and present. It is as a result of this research that the story of the New Jersey seals can now be written.[2]

The preparation of a new seal for an individual colony or series of seals for the colonies in general, in the eighteenth century, followed a set pattern of procedure, which is still followed in essence in the twentieth century. New seals were commissioned at the beginning of the reign of each sovereign and remained current until replaced by the seal of the next sovereign, or until some major chance occurred in any of the elements depicted on the seals, *e.g.,* changes in the royal arms or titles. In individual cases a new seal might be necessary for a colony out of turn; for example, in 1750 the Virginia seal was broken and had to be replaced, and on one occasion, to be related later, the New Jersey seal of George II never reached the colony, being lost at sea in a shipwreck.

On William III's death in 1702, the machinery for the issue of new seals went into operation. On April 13, 1702, a royal warrant was sent to each colonial governor authorizing continued use of the old seals of William and Mary.[3] No new series in William's name alone was issued after Mary's death in 1694, almost certainly because they ruled as joint sovereigns, not

[2]A recent detailed study of *The Great Seal Deputed of Virginia,* by the present writer, appeared in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* LXVI (January, 1958), 1-21; and of the *Great Seal Deputed of Maryland* in the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* vol. 54, no. 2 (June, 1959), pp. 30-37.

[3]P.R.O., C.O.5/1312, f.40.

as sovereign and consort, and therefore, in law, there was no demise of the crown, which would certainly have necessitated new seals. On May 31, 1702, an Order in Council under the Royal sign manual, directed to the Board of Trade and Plantations, ordered the preparation of new seals, the Lord High Treasurer was instructed to meet the necessary charges, and the seals, when completed, were to be laid before the Queen in Council. This order was received by the Board on June 8th, when instructions were given to Henry Harris, Chief Graver of H. M. Seals (an office he had enjoyed since the 1660s), to do the work.[4]

Reign of Anne: the First Seal

In October 1703, Harris reported to the Board that of the series of colonial seals, all were ready but those for Jamaica, Barbados, Leeward Islands, Massachusetts Bay and Maryland.[5] His illness and subsequent death in the summer of 1704, with only the seal for the Leeward Islands completed out of those outstanding, further delayed matters. On October 17, 1704, Harris's daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Furnesse, appearing before the Board with the Leewards seal and the half-finished New York seal, asked for payment for these and for permission to finish the rest.[6] On October 24th she addressed a further petition to the Board, saying that it would be a great loss to her son Henry, who was heir and legatee to Harris, if he was not allowed to finish this series of seals.[7] On October 26th the Board requested the Treasury's instructions,[8] and on October 31st the Secretary of the Treasury wrote the Master and principal officers of the Royal Mint telling them to authorize Mrs. Furnesse to finish the seals "with all expedition."[9] The unusual step of placing

[4]*Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, 1702,* p.366 (hereafter cited as *Cal.S.P.Col., A. & W.I.*).

[6]Royal Mint Record Book, VII, 78.

[6]*Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations,* I, 47 (hereafter cited as *Journ. T. & P.*).

[7]*ibid.,* p.50.

[8]*ibid.,* p.51.

[9]*Calendar of Treasury Books,* XIX, 397.

Mrs. Harris (and her son) under the direct control of the Mint for the completion of these seals was no doubt taken because neither of them held the office of Chief Graver of Seals in succession to Harris. Not until March 1704/5, was John Roos appointed to the office. Until 1902, when the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint was made *ex-officio* Chief Engraver of H. M. Seals, the Mint's sole concern with the production of all royal seals was the certification of the reasonableness of the charges made by the engravers for the making of the matrices.

On December 12, 1704, the Board of Trade and Plantations asked the Furnesses how nearly ready the outstanding seals were and asked for their despatch with all speed.[10] On December 14th Mrs. Furnesse replied that the seals for Maryland and New Hampshire were ready, and she was ordered to deliver them to the Secretary of the Board.[11] By December 22nd these two seals were in the Board's hands and the rest promised.[12] By April 19, 1705, with the exception of the Jamaican seal, the promise was honored,[13] and on April 20th the seals with draft warrants to the various governors were sent on to the Privy Council.[14] On May 3rd the Queen signed the warrants (later discovered to have one important defect in them),[15] and the seals, together with the warrants, were returned to the Board for transmission to the colonies. On May 8th William Popple, jr., Secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations, sent the North American seals and warrants to Lieutenant-Governor Nott of Virginia at Portsmouth, where he was about to take passage in the man-o'-war *Kingston* for Virginia. One packet contained the seal and warrant for Virginia; the other, seals and warrants for New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts Bay and Maryland, all consigned to Governor Seymour of Maryland, who was instructed to arrange their distribution.[16] Nott acknowl-

[10] *Journ. T. & P.*, I, 70.
[11] *ibid.*, p.73.
[12] *ibid.*, p.76.
[13] *ibid.*, p.128.
[14] *ibid.*, p.129.
[15] *ibid.*, p.132.
[16] *ibid.*, p.134.

edged safe receipt of the packets on May 19th,[17] and New Jersey's first Great Seal Deputed would be in the colony and in use by the late summer of 1705.

The other colonies, having seals of the previous reign and authority to continue to use them, would have suffered no administrative and legal difficulties by this moderate three-year delay. New Jersey, being a new colony, would, and no doubt did, suffer for lack of a seal. On July 8, 1705, writing from New York, Governor Lord Cornbury entreated the Board of Trade and Plantations "that a Great Seal may be sent for that Providence (i.e., New Jersey), there having been none yet, for want of which many things remain undone which should be done."[18] The new seal must have arrived fairly soon after Cornbury had sent his letter, and no doubt little would then be left undone for long.

The defect in the warrants of May 3, 1705, referred to earlier, was the omission of the instruction that the old seal was to be defaced in the presence of the Council of each colony and returned to the Privy Council for formal defacement in London. But this, of course, had no relevance in New Jersey.

The first Great Seal Deputed of New Jersey for the reign of Queen Anne was a single-sided matrix, made of silver, "engraven on the one side with our Arms, Garter [with the motto *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense* upon it], Supporters, Motto and Crown, with this inscription round the same, *Sig. Provinciae nostrae de Nova Caesarea in America.*"[19] The charge for engraving the matrix was £9.[20]

Reign of Anne: the Second Seal

The Act of Union of 1707, by which England and Scotland were united as one kingdom, had by-results which affected the colonial Great Seals Deputed. The royal arms were changed

[17]*ibid.*, p.139.

[18]*Cal.S.P.Col.A. & W.I., 1704-5*, p.564.

[19]This is the description as contained in the warrant of 3 May, 1705, to Cornbury: *Cal.S.P.Col., A. & W.I., 1704-5*, p.511.

[20]Royal Mint Record Book, VII, 81.

and, as a consequence, new series of colonial and domestic seals were required. On July 6, 1708, the Earl of Sunderland, as Secretary of State for the Southern Department and as such responsible for colonial administration, wrote to the Board of Trade and Plantations, asking for details of the design of current colonial seals so that a warrant could be prepared for the issue of a new series bearing the changed royal arms.[21] On July 17th a general warrant was issued to John Roos, Chief Graver of H. M. Seals, to make new seals for the colonies.[22]

On August 11, 1709, Roos laid before the Board four completed seals for Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New Jersey and Bermuda, for which he received a receipt.[23] It was not until 1713, however, that the new seal was sent to New Jersey. The despatch of the North American seals was delayed until such time as the whole series was completed in March or April 1713, although a draft warrant for the use of the New Jersey seal had been prepared as early as October 1709.[24]

This second seal of New Jersey was similar to the first in design, except that the new royal arms replaced the old. The inscription around the design read *Sigil: Provinciae Nostrae De Nova Caesarea in America.* The silver matrix, weighing 7 ozs. 11 pennyweights and 12 grams, cost £9 for the engraving and £1.19.1½ for the silver and it was despatched in a shagreen case, costing 7s.6d.[25]

George I

With the death of Anne and the accession of George I in 1714, the need for new seals for the colonies again arose, and on June 17, 1715, an Order in Council directed the Board of Trade and Plantations to cause new seals to be made.[26] Roos, still chief engraver of seals, was commissioned to produce them. On Aug-

[21] *Cal.S.P.Col., A. & W.I., 1708-9,* p.19.
[22] *ibid.,* p.37.
[23] *Journ. T. & P.,* II, 62.
[24] *ibid.,* p.80.
[25] Royal Mint Record Book, VII, 91.
[26] *Journ. T. & P.,* III, 46.

ust 22, 1716, the New Jersey seal was laid before the Board and a receipt given for it.[27] On October 11, 1717, the warrants to colonial governors for the use of the new seals and defacement and return of the old ones were signed, and shortly thereafter seals and warrants were despatched.[28] On July 11, 1718, Brigadier Hunter, Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey, returned the old seal to the Board.[29]

The Great Seal Deputed of New Jersey for the reign of George I was of similar design to its predecessors, again with new royal arms. The silver matrix, weighing 7 ozs. 15 pennyweights and 21 gramms, cost £9 for the engraving and £2.0.2½ for the silver, and the shagreen case again cost 7/6d.

George II

George I died on June 11, 1727, and on June 26th a circular letter was sent to all Governors proclaiming the accession of George II.[31] In this letter the attention of Governors was drawn to the terms of section ix of the Statute 6 Anne, c.7 (the Act of Succession), which enacted that all public seals in being at the time of the demise of a sovereign shall continue in use as the seals of the succeeding sovereign until orders to contrary shall be given. On September 20th the new seals necessary for the colonies were ordered,[32] and on November 17th John Rollos, who had been appointed Chief Graver of Seals earlier in the year, was ordered to proceed with the making of them.[33] The New Jersey seal was handed over to the Secretary of the Board of Trade and Plantations on July 16, 1728,[34] and was ready for transmission by the end of the year.[35]

In the instructions to Rollos for the engraving of the George

[27]*ibid.*, p.182.
[28]*ibid.*, p.279.
[29]*ibid.*, p.431.
[30]Royal Mint Record Book, VII, 100.
[31]*Cal.S.P.Col., A. & W.I., 1726-7*, p.309.
[32]*ibid.*, p.352.
[33]*ibid.*, p.403.
[34]*Journ. T. & P., V*, 421.
[35]*ibid.*, p.430.

II seals, there was one departure from the designs for previous reigns. The usual design of a shield of arms, encircled by the Garter and motto, supported by the Royal supporters, with a crown above the shield and the motto *Dieu et Mon Droit* beneath, around the whole, the legend *Sig.Provinciae Nostrae de Nova Caesarea in America,* was supplemented by a further legend bearing the royal titles. Rollos was authorized to use his discretion in contracting the words of the title and he had need of this discretionary power since George II's full Latin title was: *Georgius Secundus Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hiberniae Rex Fidei Defensor Brunswicensis et Luneburgensis Dux Sacri Romani Imperii Archithesaurarius et Elector.* On the seal this was reduced to *Georgius II D.G.M.Brit.Fr. et Hib.Rex F.D.Brun. et L. Dux. S.R.I. ATh, et El.* The matrix was again of silver, but was larger and heavier than previously, as might be expected, weighing 11 ozs. 13 pennyweights. The engraving charge was £10.10.0 and the cost of silver £3.9.10½.[36]

Normally, no further replacement of this seal would be expected after its dispatch to New Jersey until the accession of a new sovereign. However, on December 10, 1730, Colonel Montgomerie, Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey, wrote to the Board of Trade informing them that the new seal had been lost by shipwreck in transit and a new one was therefore urgently required. The letter was read to the Board on June 10, 1731, by Mr. Drummond, Montgomerie's London agent, and Rollos was at once commissioned to produce another seal.[37] This was ready before the end of the next year, 1732.

George III

On October 27, 1760, a bare two days after George II's death, a circular letter proclaiming the new Sovereign and drawing attention to the statutory sanction for the continued use of the old seals and other matters of immediate concern was agreed on by the Board of Trade and Plantations and despatched on

[36]Royal Mint Record Book, VII, 116.
[37]*Journ. T. & P.,* VI, 209, 211.

October 31st.[38] On December 2nd the instructions to Thomas Major, the seal engraver, were signed by the Board.[39] Major, however, was removed from office early in 1761 and was replaced by Christopher Seaton, to whom no new directions for the engraving of colonial and domestic seals were given until January 13, 1762.[40] It was not until April 13, 1767, that the new seals, including the New Jersey, were finally approved by the Board of Trade and Plantations and were ready for despatch.[41] The George II seal was duly returned to the Board and defaced on April 20, 1768.[42].

The design of the George III seal was similar to that of George II in all respects, with the substitution of the Roman number *III* for *II* in the King's title. This seal it was, which continued in use for the authentication and validation of so many of the formal documents issuing from the legislature and administration of the colony of New Jersey until relations with the British Crown were severed, that emerged from what is known as the American War of Independence. What happened to the silver matrix of the Great Seal Deputed of George III for the colony and province of New Jersey, that solemn symbol of royal authority and government, is not known. It would be interesting to learn if it survived the birth throes of the new nation.

[38] *ibid.*, XI, 131, 133.
[39] *ibid.*, p.148.
[40] *ibid.*, p.242.
[41] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V, 86.
[42] *ibid.*

Frederick T. Frelinghuysen: Words Matched by Deeds

SISTER M. REGINA, O.P.

Words, the end results of determination and judgments, put decisions on the line. They therefore bear heavy responsibility, whether they convey casual advice or command decisions which will affect the lives of millions of people. The spoken word, in fact, reveals the mind and mettle of the man who utters it; but the true test of his effectiveness lies in his judicious translation of verbal policy into action. Perhaps nowhere is this final act in the process of reflective thinking more to be desired than in the field of diplomacy.

The writer's recent perusal of primary source material[1] carrying the words of a high-ranking diplomatic officer has prompted the general statement made above. The officer is Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen; the office, that of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Chester A. Arthur, 1881-1885. As words are preceded by thoughts, which in turn are determined by a man's philosophy, perhaps a presentation of the person, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, would be of value in advance of an examination of his utterances.

Frelinghuysen was a Jerseyman through and through. The geographical location of his birth was Millstone, New Jersey, on August 4, 1817, and the genealogical location was a family of conservative Dutch ancestry.[2] His grandfather and namesake served actively during the Revolutionary War: a Jerseyman, he

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[1]Three *Letter Books* (3 vols. numbered 3, 4, 5) of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Arthur, containing diplomatic correspondence, 1882-1883. Manuscript Division, The Library of Congress.

[2]He is directly descended on his paternal side from Reverend Theodore Jacobus Frelinghuysen, who emigrated to America in 1720 from Holland.

was a member of the Continental Congress and was elected United States Senator in 1793.[3] As though to continue the pattern, Frelinghuysen's own activities centered in New Jersey. Upon his completion of studies at Rutgers College in 1836 he entered the legal profession, and Jerseymen have a justifiable pride in his record as State Attorney General, 1861-1866. Public officials make history, and Frelinghuysen lived up to the truism that local history is national history locally exemplified when he took his place on the national scene, carefully using the legal baggage he had brought with him from the state level. While United States Senator[4] he served actively on the Judiciary Committee and was an influential member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. Two decisions made during this period serve to indicate the bent of his opinion. During the impeachment proceedings in the Senate Frelinghuysen took a determined stand against President Johnson. As a member of the electoral commission chosen to settle the disputed election of 1876, he cast his ballot for Rutherford B. Hayes. Frelinghuysen's political affiliations marked him as a Republican of the Stalwart, Grant-Conkling variety.

"I am a Stalwart and Arthur is President now!" These words, shouted by President Garfield's assassin, Charles Guiteau, on July 2, 1881, were laden with disquieting implications for many. They fired into orbit a man whose reputation gave scant assurance of his worthiness to be the new President. None questioned his knowledge of machine politics, but many doubted that it was applicable to the Presidency.

Chester A. Arthur's determination to choose his official family wisely and independently has been judged one of his strongest presidential acts. He focused his attention immediately on the key position of Secretary of State, occupied in the Garfield cabinet by James G. Blaine. Any harmonious alliance between Arthur, a Stalwart, and Blaine, a Half-Breed, could scarcely have been

[3] *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, second series, IX, 45.

[4] 1866-1869 by appointment of Governor Olden; 1871-1877 by election of the New Jersey legislature.

expected. William Phelps advised Arthur, from Vienna, to balance the situation by a Blaine-Conkling combination in the cabinet.[5] Instantly the Stalwarts indicated that Conkling would accept only the Secretary of State appointment. Wisely and with great foresight, Arthur transcended all this maneuvering and set his sights on Frelinghuysen, a Stalwart strongly suggested by Grant[6] and a man very congenial to Arthur himself. On December 12, 1881, President Arthur sent the nomination of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen to the Senate. The immediate reaction of the public to the Senate's confirmation of Frelinghuysen was favorable.

The first hundred days of Blaine, fraught as they had been with aggressive and spirited actions, had not convinced the American people that a departure from tradition was exactly desired. Public opinion shapes basic foreign policy, and in 1881 it was more precisely expressed in the conservative, traditional spirit of Frelinghuysen[7] than in the impulsive excursions of Blaine. The anticipated reversal of the conduct of affairs of state won for Frelinghuysen many adversaries, who predicted in unmannerly fashion that his administration would be unexciting because he regarded the American eagle as a mere hen past middle age. With the background of a conservative corporation lawyer of Dutch lineage, Frelinghuysen, they forecast, would pull in America's diplomatic antennae and would channel United States foreign relations in the unimaginative ways of pre-Blaine years. Let the record speak for itself. Words matched by deeds are the stuff from which history is made.

Pressing Questions

That international relations and the economy of the country are interrelated was most evident in the United States by the 1880s. The trans-Mississippi settlements after 1862 had opened up vast agricultural regions and new mineral resources. Assisted

[5]Phelphs to Arthur, Sept. 27, Oct. 21, 1881. *Presidential Papers:* Chester A. Arthur. Library of Congress microfilm, 1959. (Referred to hereinafter as *Arthur Papers.*)

[6]Louis A. Coolidge, *Ulysses S. Grant,* p. 552.

[7]*New York Tribune,* Dec. 13, 1881.

by the greatest colonizing agent, the railroad, commerce could be expanded. An industrial economy had overtaken an agricultural one, with the result that a surplus of manufactured goods was pleading for markets abroad as well as at home.

Coupled with need for the implementation of foreign trade during the Arthur administration was the problem of an outlet for another unusual surplus. The United States Treasury in 1881 and 1882 had a surplus of $100,000,000. But how return this money to circulation? Since the law required customs receipts to be retained in the Treasury until expended, over half the normal income was withdrawn from business uses for a long period, sometimes when it was most needed.[8] The administration could spend it by appropriations, distribute it among the States, devote it to paying the public debt or abolish it by lowering taxes.

To these pressing questions Frelinghuysen brought soundness of judgment. Reciprocity treaties would play a dual role by giving due consideration to both the Treasury's surplus revenues and to the nation's surplus products begging for markets. European governments, moreover, were resorting to special agreements to obtain limited freedom of trade by an exchange of commercial favors. Canadian reciprocity had yielded mutual benefits from 1854 to 1866 and was terminated for political rather than economic reasons.

Hawaii

Hawaii presented a test case for the United States diplomatists when the reciprocity treaty of 1875 was due to terminate in 1883. That Frelinghuysen had a thorough grasp of the conflict of interests among his commercial rivals in the Far East was manifested in his correspondence of this period. In his report to the Committee on Foreign Relations in the House of Representatives in January, 1883, Frelinghuysen reviewed the political questions involved in either the continuance or abrogation of the reciprocity treaty. His report recounted the resistance of a strong bloc in Hawaii who brought accusations against the United States for

[8] *Arthur Papers*, Nov. 22, 1882.

its undue influence in this area, exerted mainly through the reciprocity treaties. Fear was also expressed concerning the strenuous efforts made by the Chinese to control the Hawaiian trade.

> . . . It cannot be justly asserted that the United States aims at any supremacy in the domestic councils of Hawaii. But on the other hand it seems equally clear to me that it is contrary to our national interests to have any other foreign influence established or exerted in Hawaii which might conflict with our own . . . [9]

Frelinghuysen went on to state that the Hawaiian Islands, situated in the heart of the world's commerce in the Pacific, belonged to the American scheme of commonwealths rather than to the Asiatic. Still more radical was his observation that if the policy of our country had admitted the establishment of protectorates over distant, isolated territory, Hawaii could claim first attention. He was reluctant to agree with the views of those who regarded the acquisition of Hawaii as a public necessity and a question of time.

> . . . While I do not share in such advanced views I should be loth to see the influence we have in Hawaii weakened and the control we have of its commerce abandoned. . . . I should prefer to see the treaty retained. The government is willing to accept any reasonable terms of revision which might propose rather than jeopardize the national supremacy of Hawaii. . . . [10]

An extension of the reciprocity treaty for seven years was negotiated in 1884, guaranteeing extensive commercial privileges not given to other nations under the most-favored-nation clause. The strategic value of the islands was so esteemed by the Senate that it added an amendment to the treaty by which the United States leased Pearl Harbor as a naval base. While this treaty was

[9] *Letter-Book*, No. 4, Jan. 9, 1883.
[10] *ibid.*

being ratified, the United States declined an invitation by Great Britain and France to enter into a convention to guarantee the neutrality of the Hawaiian Islands.[11] Frelinghuysen was in disagreement with the attempts of Britain to secure a voice in the affairs of the islands through the introduction of Indian coolies, who were to enjoy extraterritorial privileges under the jurisdiction of British consuls. On this subject Frelinghuysen saw eye to eye with his predecessor. Blaine had spoken plainly in 1881:

> . . . Neither can the government of the United States allow an arrangement which by diplomatic finesse or legal technicality substitutes for the native and legitimate constitutional government of Hawaii, the controlling influence of a great foreign power . . . [12]

Mexico and the Indies

Frelinghuysen believed that the best interests of the United States would be achieved in South America, as in the Far East, by improved commercial relations. In 1883, negotiations were opened with Mexico to draw up a new commercial treaty, reciprocal in nature. The Secretary's communiqué to his representatives, Ulysses Grant and William Trescot, revealed his technique of working with his associates to inspire their interest, indicate confidence in their judgment and extract the maximum benefits from their advice.

> . . . Much of the detail of any treaty which you succeed in negotiating must be left to your discretion and it is gratifying to feel that entire confidence can be placed in your judgment, knowledge and ability . . . [13]

He warned that Mexico was hesitant to open negotiations because public opinion there was still disturbed by the former ag-

[11]Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia,* p. 611.

[12]U. S. Department of State: Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic papers. 1882. (Referred to hereinafter as *Foreign Relations.*)

[13]*Letter-Book,* No. 4, Jan. 13, 1883.

gressive policy of the United States. Mexico, in fact, had questioned the sincerity of Washington's motives for requesting the treaty, attributing them to the attainment of some special self-interest rather than from identity of interests. He cautioned Grant and Trescot to make the purposes of the United States better understood by conducting the conference in a frank and friendly spirit.

> . . . Some common understanding should be reached as to the methods and regulations by which the general character of the articles upon the free list can be ascertained. Trivial and irritating customs requirements and badly trained officials might seriously diminish the value of such an agreement as you may reach . . . [14]

From the meeting in the Department of State emerged a treaty which granted free entry to twenty-eight Mexican articles, upon which $90,000 duty was normally collected. In return the United States was to export into Mexico, without either tariff at the border or troublesome transit taxes within, seventy-three articles on which the levy had been very high.

Meanwhile improvement of our trade relations with the Spanish West Indies was under way. John W. Foster, former Minister to Mexico and to Russia, was sent to Madrid to procure the removal of the extra tariffs upon our exports to the islands.[15] In November 1884 he concluded a trade-reciprocity treaty which ran into trouble in Congress. Legislators stated the treaty actually required the sacrifice of many millions a year in tariffs on sugar and tobacco imports, without benefit to the consumer and only to obtain a market for the wants of two million Spanish colonists.[16] Foster's treaty, though never ratified, represented Frelinghuysen's idea of an appropriate means to develop American export trade, exhibiting as it did some of the aspects of both free trade and protection.[17]

[14] *ibid.*

[15] *Letter-Book,* No. 5, June 22, 1883.

[16] *New York Tribune,* Dec. 26, 1884.

[17] President Cleveland on coming into office promptly removed from the Senate this pending treaty with Spain, and it was never submitted again.

Enormous man-hours were spent in thinking and planning for future United States action to be taken in South America in the way of reciprocal agreements that would result in a profitable investment for both areas. Frelinghuysen prepared a Department of State analysis of the foreign trade of South America, expressing the judgment that this technique would yield no returns but would rather require a sacrifice of the country's agricultural interests.[18] No action was taken. Nor was any taken with the British West Indies, because Britain feared that Frelinghuysen's type of reciprocity treaty would provide an unstable basis on which to support British sugar interests. As she observed the obstacles all these treaties met in Congress, she wisely concluded that perhaps in the long run no treaty would be needed to protect the British planters.

Points East

Turkey, Egypt, Siam, Algiers, Santo Domingo—all these areas received the Secretary's consideration as each presented its individual diplomatic problem. The expansion of the commercial treaty policy to the Middle East seemed a wise move because of the favorable attitude there displayed toward the United States. Walter Phelps' communication from Vienna gave Frelinghuysen the Turks' reaction to American influence:

> . . . All other nations have selfish objects in intercourse with us. You Americans want nothing; you seek to give; you build our colleges; you educate our youths; you seek no office for your citizens; you seek no share of our lands; you enforce the payment of no illegal debts; . . . [19]

In light of this, Frelinghuysen envisioned commercial opportunities in the Middle East. Directives were given for the United States to step in as an individual and establish trade and general commercial intercourse, which would be remunerative to Ameri-

[18] *Letter-Book*, No. 4. References are made in various diplomatic pieces to this Department of State report.

[19] *Foreign Relations*, 1882. "Phelps to Frelinghuysen."

ca and at the same time helpful to Turkey, Egypt and other countries along these same trade routes.

Siam presented the age-old problem of the diplomatic corps, insufficient funds. At the request of the King of Siam, who wished a diplomatic representative of the United States, the rank of the consul at Bangkok had been raised to that of minister-resident and consul-general. But as Frelinghuysen indicated in his report to Frank Hiscock, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the House, there had been no increase in salary. Three thousand dollars was inadequate for a minister in Siam, where the expense of living, as in all Far Eastern countries, was greater than in Europe.

> . . . I submit whether our minister at an important Oriental court, whose rulers have shown a marked degree of friendship for this country and a warm interest in fostering our material relations therewith, should not be compensated in proportion to the expenses to which he is subjected. The salary which I now suggest is the amount paid at Berne, Lisbon, Copenhagen and other places. Four thousand dollars is sufficient.[20]

Frelinghuysen also called on Hiscock for an investigation of the pattern of fees in Algiers, where trade was increasing but the consul was receiving an insignificant remuneration. A consul customarily received two and a half dollars for each invoice, but in Algiers, where the principal shipment was iron ore, the entire cargo of a vessel might be owned by one shipper who would take out a single invoice. Competent officers were needed in Algiers, and since these fees did not constitute sufficient remuneration, the Secretary appealed to have them raised.[21]

In this same communication to Hiscock, while the Consular and Diplomatic Appropriations Bill was in preparation, Frelinghuysen requested that a diplomatic representative be appointed to Santo Domingo.

> . . It seems to me desirable that one be sent there. The proximity of that country to the United States and the amount of trade between the two

[20] *Letter-Book*, No. 3. Dec. 6, 1882.
[21] *ibid.*

countries lead to questions requiring the attention of a diplomatic officer. So far the courtesy of the Dominican Republic has received the representative as the consul. This is not a right upon which we can insist. . . . [22]

The Congo

Despite the severe criticisms which Frelinghuysen knew he would incur, he decided after due deliberation that the United States would accept Bismarck's invitation to attend the Berlin-Congo Conference in 1884. In the previous year the Independent State of the Congo had been organized as a government. The United States had been prompt to recognize its flag and had extended formal recognition of the new sovereign power. We could receive only benefit from the discussions at the conference by the principal commercial nations of the world on methods whereby the Congo Basin might be kept open to world trade; it was not a meeting to form policies and make decisions, but one to ventilate the all-important question. Frelinghuysen was merely endorsing a continuation of the expansion of commercial interests of the country by another method—an interest dear to his heart. The fear that participation in the conference might limit the freedom of action of the United States should have been allayed when Frelinghuysen's directive to the American delegates to Berlin was announced.

. . . You are to attend on behalf of the United States with the understanding that your part should be merely deliberative without imparting to the results any binding character so far as our country is concerned.[23]

It was mainly through the influence of the American delegation[24] that among the outcomes of the conference were the assurance of freedom of trade and commercial intercourse in Cen-

[22]*ibid.*

[23]*Foreign Relations,* 1885.

[24]The key figures in the American delegation included Kasson, American minister in Berlin, Sanford, former United States minister to Belgium, and Tisdel, special commissioner to the Congo.

tral Africa, the abolition of slave trade and the neutralization of this region in time of war.

Korea

Our Asiatic commercial relations in the 1880s were based on privileges obtained in the treaty of Commodore Perry with Japan in 1854, and on participation in the treaty obtained by Britain in China containing most-favored-nation clauses. When Frelinghuysen took office, Commodore Shufeldt, another sailor diplomat, had negotiations under way for a purely commercial treaty with Korea. His mission received the blessing of the new Secretary in a communiqué issued on January 6, 1882, when Frelinghuysen increased his powers, affirmed his instructions and congratulated him on his ability to master the intricate maze of politics in the Orient.[25]

It was well known that China laid claim to Korea as a satellite, but Japan had threatened this position when she signed the 1876 treaty with Korea. This was the first wedge to separate China and Korea, the latter being jealously coveted by Japan and Russia.[26] Shufeldt notified Frelinghuysen in March 1882, that:

> . . . Both Korea and China are anxiously looking for protection against the growing aggression of Japan on the peninsula . . . Both are glad to see an American man-of-war on the river at Seoul. . . . [27]

His letter went on to state that Li Hung Chang, China's powerful statesman, sought to include in the proposed treaty a clause expressly acknowledging he dependence of Korea on China. Shufeldt pleaded for instructions on this point because he could see the implications in such an inclusion. The record shows that the policy of "delayed action" on whether the treaty should or should not recognize Korea's dependency on China was disastrous. This

[25] *Foreign Relations,* 1882, "Frelinghuysen to Shufeldt."
[26] Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy,* 1881-1904 (1958), p. 28.
[27] *Foreign Relations,* 1882, "Shufeldt to Frelinghuysen."

situation called for deliberation, to be sure, because it was a new and perplexing one for the American government; but before the Department of State managed to reach a decision, Shufeldt assumed that silence gave consent. He signed the treaty on May 22, 1882, on board the *U.S.S. Swatara,* with no recognition of China's suzerainty over Korea.[28] Shufeldt thus drove the second wedge between Korea and China and opened the way for dire consequences, because China had to assent to the claim first made by Japan six years before that Korea was as independent as Japan. It dealt an unintended blow at the security of the Chinese Empire and probably assumed greater proportions than its terms warranted, because it set Korea adrift at a time when Western and Japanese competition for special privilege in Asia was most intense.

Frelinghuysen had refrained from definite action on the advice of John Young, the American minister in Peking, who indicated the impossibility of determining the independence of Asiatic powers. His letter of February 23, 1883, on the occasion of the ratification of the Korean treaty again reassured the Secretary of State. He hailed the treaty, which gave the United States a footing in Korea, and stated that the country had little to lose whether "Korea becomes a province of China, is annexed to Japan or remains independent."[29] He warned that the only power whose presence in Korea would affect United States trade would be Russia, which would open trade channels overland and thus limit seaboard commerce.

> . . . Our convention with Korea is commercially a step in the path of progress and made with a view to extending into Asia the advantages of our civilization. With the other powers it is political and bound up with aims and schemes of the Western nations for aggrandizement in Asia. As we have no interest in these enterprises . . . I am most anxious to see our country in a position where her moral influence can aid in maintaining the existing autonomy of China, Japan, Korea and Siam.[30]

[28]Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia,* 1922, p. 461.
[29]*Foreign Relations,* 1883. "Young to Frelinghuysen."
[30]*ibid.*

Bolivia and Peru

Diplomatic moves were under way in Latin America also when Frelinghuysen took office, moves which had cast the United States in a challenging and sabre-rattling role. The emerging policy smacked of corrupt influences at work to bring the United States into action.[31] Blaine was convinced that it was the obligation of the Department of State to terminate the war begun by Chile against Peru and Bolivia, a war accompanied in each country by internal commotion and civil strife. This War of the Pacific, begun in 1879, was an attempt on the part of Chile to extend her holdings in the Atacoma Desert, which was divided among the three countries. The Chilean army and navy had gained quick victories and had dealt harsh terms to Peru and Bolivia.

Frelinghuysen inherited the situation after severe ultimatums had been issued by Blaine. But his first orders to William Trescot on January 3 read: " . . . avoid every issue that might lead to offence . . . " On January 9, he continued in the same strain: " . . . The President prefers that he shall himself determine . . . whether there is or is not a cause for offence . . . " These telegraphic instructions embodied the Secretary's judgments on the inheritance Blaine had left him; words which indicated a reversal of his predecessor's policies in Latin America. Frelinghuysen adhered to the principle that a prolific cause of contention between nations could be an irritability which was too readily offended. Blaine's threats to break off diplomatic relations with Chile were thus mollified.[32] The conservative, cautious approach replaced the challenging, aggressive one.

Blaine's unsuccessful attempt to force mediation—with the United States acting as arbiter[33]—drew a sharp retort from Fre-

[31]For a good exposé on the guano and nitrate deposits claims see R. H. Bastert, "Diplomatic Reversal," *MVHR,* XLII 1956, pp. 653-671.

[32]These actions were taken by Blaine when Chile arrested Francesco Calderon, the head of a provisional government in Peru which the United States had recognized prematurely.

[33]Only friction resulted from the "peace Conference" aboard the *U.S.S. Lackawanna,* arranged for Chile, Peru and Bolivia at the insistence of Blaine.

linghuysen, as did Blaine's avowal that the United States would intervene and would appeal to the other republics on the continent to join in an effort to avert dire consequences. The Secretary's communiqué of February 24, 1882, manifested a quite different diplomatic technique.

> . . . the United States does not wish to impose its wishes upon the belligerents or to act as an arbiter or umpire unless *moved to it by the wishes of the parties or by controlling interests of our own* . . .[34]

These words also answered an envoy in a dilemma. Trescot, who had been negotiating in line with Blaine's aggressive policy in Chile, wanted to know if the United States intended to intervene effectively to prevent the disintegration of Peru. If not, still more urgent was the necessity that Chile and Peru should understand exactly how far the United States was prepared to go.

Of course, Frelinghuysen realized that a vacuum had been created in United States policy by his withdrawal from Blaine's wrapped-in-fire methods on Peru. He knew that Peru had to be supported to a point, but more essentially he knew that the United States' national interest had to be maintained. Frelinghuysen's resolution of this triangle of contradictions presented apparent inconsistencies as his directives went forth to Lima and Santiago; but his over-all strategy to achieve understanding and action is easily discernible when his letter-books are consulted.

Desirous of opening a new stage in the negotiations which could be carried on through the normal diplomatic agents in each country, Frelinghuysen recalled his special envoy, William Trescot. Cornelius Logan, a man well groomed in Latin American affairs, was appointed minister to Chile, and S. Phelps took the diplomatic post in Peru. Frelinghuysen chose to use moral suasion through his ministers to reach an agreement by reassurance rather than by force. This decision was not an arbitrary reversal of the diplomatic antennae but the application of intelligence and

[34] *Foreign Relations,* 1882, "Frelinghuysen to Trescot." (Italics supplied by the author.)

tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of the independent states. In the initial negotiations Chile refused to agree to the United States' suggestion that she accept the indemnity offered by Peru. Frelinghuysen, in his directives to Logan in March, 1883 warned:

> . . . The United States did not assume responsibility to enforce this recommendation. In the event of our interference to dictate peace the armies and navies of the United States would be needed. Such interference would almost inevitably lead to the establishment of a protectorate, a result utterly at odds with our past policy, injurious to our present interests and full of embarrassments for the future.[35]

The Secretary added that the United States government might deplore the evils that existed, but not being responsible for them, did not feel duty bound to take forcible action for their suppression. "This government recognizes each nationality in its sovereignty as an equal and will respect its rights."[36]

The settlement of the war finally resolved into the Tacna-Arica question. The diplomatists sought an integration of differences by rational means, which respected the integrity of the countries involved and yet conserved the essential values for each. The instrument of integration was a new element injected in the negotiations in the form of a plebiscite to be held in ten years to decide the permanent status of Tacna and Arica. Again Frelinghuysen warned in his letter to Phelps in Lima:

> . . . With this [Peru's acceptance of the peace treaty] the United States government has no desire to interfere. It respects the independence of Peru as a commonwealth entitled to settle its own affairs in its own way. A due respect for their sovereign independence forbids the United States from seeming to exert any positive or indirect pressure upon these representatives to influence their course.[37]

Peru ratified the treaty, and Chile's aggressions ceased, but satisfaction did not prevail despite the efforts of the Department of

[35] *Letter-Book*, No. 4, March 23, 1803.
[36] *ibid.*
[37] *Foreign Relations*, 1883, "Frelinghuysen to Phelps."

State to use moral suasion. Chile, the aggressor, resented Frelinghuysen's reversal of Blaine's policy, because the United States had opposed what she chose to consider her legal claims, all of Tacna and Arica. Peru, the object of aggression, felt deserted by the United States, which had promised to intervene in her favor.[38] Frelinghuysen had averted the intervention of the European powers whose aims and policies he distrusted.

On principle, Frelinghuysen had to reverse another Latin American policy in action when he assumed office. Three weeks before his retirement, on November 29, 1881, Blaine sent out invitations for a conference of American nations to assemble in Washington on November 24, 1882. That the aim and purpose of the conference, "to seek ways to permanent peace", could be achieved when conditions in Central and South America were so troubled seemed dubious to Frelinghuysen. He feared to invoke the displeasure of the European countries by exclusion and their good will was essential now as never before, when their intervention was being wooed by Peru.

> . . . for this government to enter into negotiations and consultations for the promotion of peace with selected friendly nationalities, without extending a like confidence to other peoples with whom the United States is on equally friendly terms. If such partial confidence would create jealousy and ill-will, peace, the object sought by such consultation would not be promoted . . .[39]

Frelinghuysen, wisely deciding that the conference was inopportune at this time, revoked the invitations and cancelled the meeting through a communiqué to Trescot on January 9, 1882. Blaine retaliated with a letter of protest to President Arthur in which he excoriated Frelinghuysen, who could scarcely have been expected to decide otherwise.

[38]The plebiscite in 1923 was a fiasco. When in 1929 Tacna was assigned to Peru and Arica was retained by Chile, the United States did not enhance its reputation as arbiter in Latin America.

[39]*Arthur's Papers:* Quoted in the thirteen-page handwritten letter of Blaine to President Arthur, January, 1882.

The Interoceanic Canal

The attention of Frelinghuysen was drawn to one last diplomatic endeavor in Central America, one which was motivated by his desire to improve commercial facilities. It also sprang from his inherent awareness of European intrigues and was a keen challenge to his legal ability. The construction of the interoceanic canal was of great concern to him. In fact, it had engaged the attention of President Hayes before him, who stated in 1880 that the United States policy in this matter was a canal under American control, and that consent would never be given for the surrender of this control to any European powers. The crux of the problem, however, was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, which in essence had implied partial surrender. It was here that the astute legal ability of Frelinghuysen came to the fore. His technical argument simply stated that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was no longer applicable. His strategy was unfolded in his letter to James Russell Lowell, American minister to London. He argued that the Department of State did not think that the United States should be expected by any principle of equity to revive the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which were especially applicable in 1850 but were not so in 1882.

> . . . The United States being then without the means to build the canal for which they had secured exclusive right from Nicaragua naturally turned to England for capital to secure which they were willing to surrender some of their exclusive privileges and that the canal never having been built—the reason for the surrender had ceased and the treaty with Great Britain voided . . . [40]

Furthermore, international agreements such as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which called for interference by force and conferred extensive rights upon several independent powers, were calculated to breed dissension and trouble.

[40] *Foreign Relations,* May 5, 1883, "Frelinghuysen to Lowell."

. . . The President believes, as do I, that the formation of a protectorate by European nations over the isthmus transit would be in conflict with a doctrine which has for many years been asserted by the United States. This doctrine so formulated by Monroe and expounded by Adams has since remained a cardinal principle of our continental policy . . . [41]

Frelinghuysen argued that Great Britain had not fulfilled her pledge under the treaty, whereby she agreed to evacuate "spheres of interest" in Central America. But the British treaty with Guatemala for a "settlement" at Honduras, which spread out beyond the limits set in the treaty, was a direct violation of the Clayton-Bulwer guarantee. The Secretary also maintained that there was no provision in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to invite or oblige the United States to accept the aid of other nations to protect or guarantee the neutrality of a Panama route.

Great Britain's arguments were equally formidable. She declared that the contracting parties had intended to establish a "general principle" applicable to all interoceanic communications and not to any one particular scheme. Britain contended that Honduras had become British by conquest and was possessed by her previous to the signing of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. In fact, Honduras had been referred to by the United States as a British "colony" in 1860. Therefore, it was said, the contention of Frelinghuysen was not sound.

Frelinghuysen insisted that a Nicaraguan canal would serve the fundamental national interest of the United States. Negotiations with Nicaragua resulted in a convention signed at Washington on December 1, 1884, by Zavala of Nicaragua and Frelinghuysen. A strip of land stretching across Nicaragua from sea to sea was to be ceded to the United States as an exclusive right-of-way. In return, the United States was to lend Nicaragua four million dollars for public improvements. Thus the exclusive rights were won by the United States to construct and control any canal to be built across that country. The treaty was never ratified for reasons given by President Cleveland when he withdrew it. It was, he

[41] *Foreign Relations*, May 8, 1883, "Frelinghuysen to Lowell."

said, an entangling alliance constructed to give unjustifiable exclusive control.

An Intense American

Other diplomatic negotiations, too numerous to mention, claimed the attention of Frederick Frelinghuysen, but the words and deeds of his which have been presented in this study are sufficient to reveal the mind and mettle of the man. Perhaps the expression "an intense American" can aptly be used to characterize him, both because of his adherence to traditional principles and his prudent use of initiative to form new ones for his country's immediate interests.

From December 19, 1881, to March 5, 1886, the United States had a Secretary of State who may not have fashioned a dramatic administration, but did engage in an energetic one. The policies initiated by him demonstrated that he regarded the American eagle as just come of age in a vibrant country (not a hen past middle age). Economic progress and the rumblings of approaching imperialism had challenged its foreign policy. Perhaps prudence and caution had made him pull in his antennae when suasion was more efficacious than rattling the sabre, but he knew that firmness was required when national interests were at stake. Frelinghuysen had his own ideas about the eagle, one being that it should not be provoked to shrill and prolonged screaming on small occasions.

This profile has an abrupt ending, for Frelinghuysen was ill when he returned to New Jersey in March of 1885, too ill to receive the plaudits and words of welcome extended by proud Jerseymen. He died on May 20, 1885, a respected public official and statesman.

Ashbel Welsh, Civil Engineer

J. ROSCOE HOWELL

The turning of the nineteenth century was an eventful time in the lives of men and women in this brave young land. So lately had it won its freedom that, except for Washington and a few others of like mettle, the men who made the Declaration, framed the Constitution and fought in the War of the Revolution were still living. In this auspicious and challenging period the subject of this narrative was born, in Nelsons Springs near "Log City," now Eaton, in Madison County, New York. Since he was to become at an early age an eminent builder of canals and railroads, an energetic and ingenious leader in the development of transportation, it may be in order to glance at a rapidly drawn picture of transportation, in this new and growing country, as he saw it in his boyhood and early years.

In 1820 the population of the twenty-seven states which then comprised the Union was slightly under ten million. Men, women and children were spread thinly over this vast area—so thinly that the average was slightly over ten to the square mile. But the population was growing rapidly. This acceleration of population presented many problems, not the least of which was transportation. Denser areas of habitation were found, naturally, along the Atlantic coast, and on the navigable rivers. Cities and towns were forming, principally on these rivers, supplied from upstream and below by river-boat and raft.

These young cities and towns demanded a diversity of supplies, many items of which were not produced or available either upstream or down. A network of lateral roads, to join these centers, was finding its way through forests and swamps. Many

The Writer, a manufacturer living in Trenton, New Jersey, and author of several historical sketches, has turned to account in the accompanying article his intimate personal knowledge of the Delaware Valley.

streams had to be crossed by fording, and in times of freshets many were impassable. Bridges were few, hurriedly and poorly built. These early roads were little wider than a wagon, made of just plain dirt, clay or sand, rocks or whatever, unless, here or there, a few logs were laid crosswise in particularly miry places. Traveling across country, except on horseback, was a harrying experience; and transporting supplies, a slow and hazardous business.

Family Background

It was over such roads as these that the parents of Ashbel Welch set out to move from near Windham, Connecticut, to Nelsons Springs in Madison County, New York. The father, also named Ashbel, was a farmer as were his people before him, residing on land on Beaver Hill, four miles north of "Old Windham Village," which his ancesters had held and tilled since the early years of the eighteenth century. There Ashbel Welch Sr. was born on April 21, 1764. He married Margaret Dorrance on October 15, 1795, and four sons were born to them, the first three at Beaver Hill. Ashbel, the youngest, was born December 4, 1809, after their removal to Madison County, New York.

Back of these sons was an illustrious ancestry, the sons being the seventh in descent from each of the following original settlers of New England: Governor William Bradford of Plymouth, and Alice Carpenter, his second wife; Thomas Richards of Weymouth; Rev. Peter Hobart, first Minister of Hingham, Mass.; William Manners of Cambridge, and Isaac Stearns of Watertown.

Ashbel is not a common given name, nor is it a new name to readers of the Old Testament, where we find Ashbel was the name given by Benjamin to his third son, who was Joseph's nephew and Jacob's grandson. We find no earlier Ashbel in the Welch family record, which goes back to James Welch, who came to America after serving as a soldier in King Philip's War in 1675-1676.

Some time between 1805 and 1809, this Welch family and other members of the Welch and Dorrance families, for reasons of sufficient importance to them, left their kinfolk and the hearth-lands of their fathers in Connecticut and moved to Nelsons Springs in Madison County, New York. This meant a slow and tedious trek, of between three and four hundred miles, with many stop-overs, over such roads as were described earlier.

What was said of the roads of that day might quite aptly be said of the vehicles which traveled over them. Variously designated as stage coaches, stage wagons and flying machines, they were made available to the traveling public by enterprising stage line companies, connections being made at stop-over or transfer points. They were later made "especially comfortable" when the seats were set on springs. A German traveler, in 1788, described these "flying machines" as "large wooden carts, light to be sure, but neither convenient or of neat appearance. They carry from ten to twelve passengers with luggage, are drawn by four horses only, and go very fast." Going very fast, in this description, presumably is to be understood in relation to the speed of walking.

In 1815 the family moved again, this time to Westmoreland (Hampton), near Utica, New York. Soon thereafter Sylvester, the eldest son, started work at twenty-one under Canvass White, C. E., as an engineer in the construction of the Erie Canal, which was completed between Rome and Utica in October 1819.

Schooling

Ashbel Jr. at this point was ten years old, an active, inquisitive, observing boy, about to enter the Select School kept by Ambrose Kasson in Utica. The subjects offered by Mr. Kasson were, in addition to the three r's, spelling, grammar, geography and mapping, surveying, rhetoric and composition, history, philosophy (now termed physics), astronomy, and chemistry. The terms were $15 per quarter, with "expenses of fuel to be taxed as usual" and books to be furnished at bookstore prices. The enrollment was limited to forty young ladies and gentlemen,

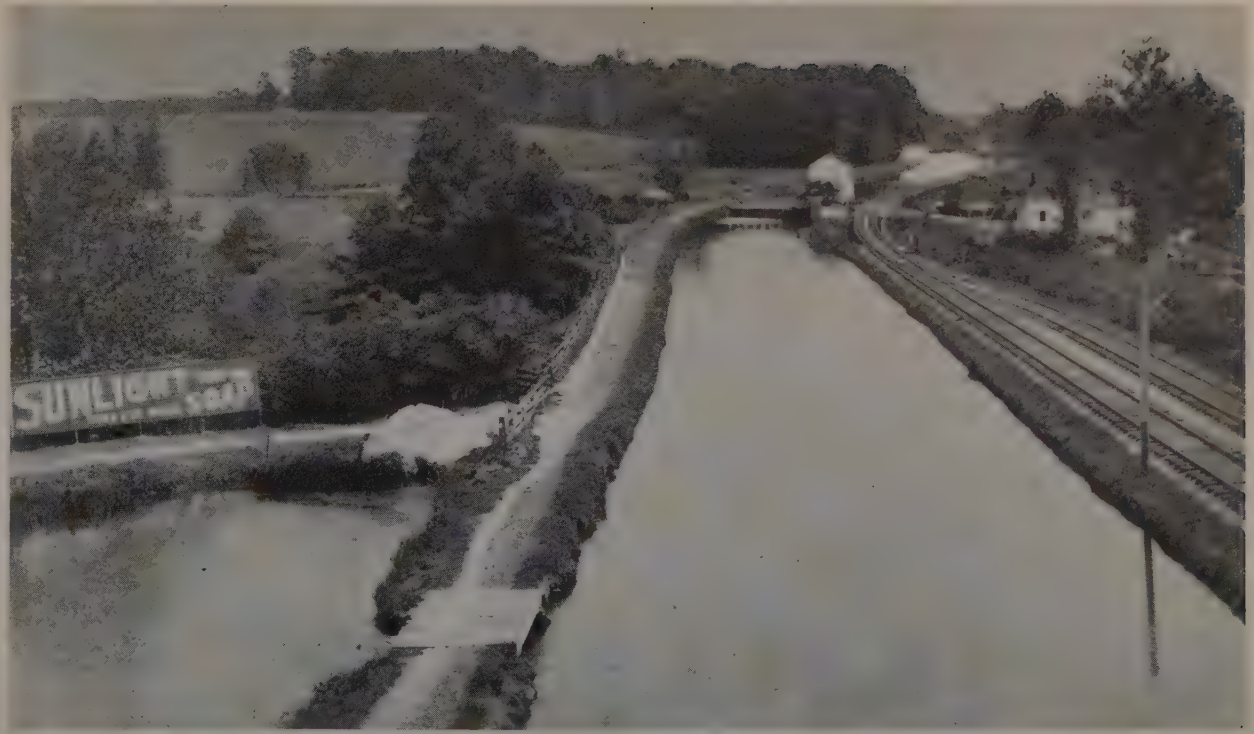
with this stipulation, "The apartments of Young Ladies are wholly separate and distinct, from those of the young Gentlemen."

Life continued normally for Ashbel at Utica until he was nearing seventeen, when he became fatherless. His older brother, Sylvester, was about to leave the Erie and engage his services as an engineer in the construction of the upper division of the Lehigh Canal near Easton, Pennsylvania. Here again we find Canvass White engaged as chief consulting engineer.

Canal building had suddenly become one of young America's most exciting and costly enterprises. Shortly after the close of the Revolution Washington himself was fathering the first canal, along the Potomac River, with the idea of providing water transportation to the West. Enthusiastically he wrote to Jefferson in 1788, "This will be a great avenue to the western country which is now settling in an extraordinary rapid manner, under uncommonly favorable circumstances." This enthusiastic enterprise, rashly experimental and doomed to many heartbreaking experiences and failures, later became the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, completed nearly forty-five years later. Extending 185 miles, with over a half-mile of it tunneled through a mountain, its cost ran to $11,000,000. It gave good services for ninety years.

In New Jersey, in 1816, Governor Dickerson officially proposed a canal across the State, connecting the Delaware River with the Raritan at tidewater, to provide a waterway between the two great cities of Philadelphia and New York. A committee was appointed and a favorable report resulted from their study. Investors held aloof, however, fearing the venture would not realize a sufficient revenue on the capital cost. Various attempts to revive interest continued until 1823, when a committee of the Legislature recommended that the State itself should execute the project. This in turn failed. Finally, after further abortive efforts to bring the canal project to a head, a private company was chartered by legislative enactment on February 4, 1830. This company promptly proceeded with the building of the Delaware and Raritan Canal. On this same date, significantly, but attract-

Old Trenton Channel. Main channel of the Delaware and Raritan Canal, looking eastward toward the Olden Avenue drawbridge. View taken shortly before close of canal operations in 1932.



View *(c.* 1900) of the Delaware and Raritan Canal Feeder and the Belvidere Delaware Railroad. looking southward from the Reading Railroad overpass toward the lower Ferry Road drawbridge.

ing little attention, the Camden and Amboy Railroad was incorporated, with rights to parallel the new canal. The country was thoroughly canal-minded, notwithstanding, and seemed blinded to the fact that the new steam-drawn rail cars, with their quiet, dangerous, competitive threat, were following perilously close behind.

Ashbel Welch, now 17, had still to decide on his life's work. With canals and railroads in the building and to be built, with an older brother now an experienced and busy engineer, and with an aptitude for engineering himself, it is not surprising that he planned to further his studies in mathematics and natural philosophy at Albany Academy. This turned out to be an unusually fortunate decision.

On a January day in 1827 he arrived at Albany and met Professor Henry of this famed Academy. His stay here was less than the full year, yet he gained much in that short time. More, he gained a deep, mutual and lasting friendship with his teacher.

Joseph Henry was thirty when young Ashbel came under his instruction and influence. Five years later, in 1832, he was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in the College of New Jersey; in 1846 he was called to Washington to direct the organization of the Smithsonian Institute. He was credited with many original discoveries in electromagnetism and induction, became president of the National Academy of Science and was elected to America's Hall of Fame. He and Ashbel Welch Jr. collaborated on many subjects throughout their busy lives.

Start of a Career

Before the school year was ended, however, circumstances compelled young Ashbel to return home and prepare for another cross-country trip. This time the first leg took him by stage to Elizabethtown Point, in New Jersey, where he waited two days for connections; from there he traveled westward, crossing the Delaware River at Easton; finally, after a long forty miles up the Lehigh River, he arrived at Mauch Chunk, the heart of the

newly worked hard-coal mines of Pennsylvania. There, at not yet eighteen, our young man started his engineering career on the Lehigh and Delaware Canal as a rodman for his brother Sylvester. Sylvester was now resident engineer under Canvass White, who was considered one of the ablest and most original of American engineers and had been Sylvester's superior in the building of the Erie Canal. Fortune now brought the younger Welch under Canvass White's skilled and observing eye.

Typical of the wages of that day was the amount paid to the young rodman—$13 a month and "found." "Found" meant board, room, and travel on the job. A rodman's work was hard, too, in that day. Most of the route was rich with heavy growth of timber and scrub, well watered by bordering rivers. Most of the time in this work was spent with saw, axe and bush knife, opening clear-ways for sighting.

Two years later, May 29, 1829, at nineteen, young Ashbel was handling the instrument and Edward Miller was his rodman. Years later Ashbel Welch Jr., then eminent, recalled in respectful reflection his "associates in that hard working corps," naming William Milner Roberts, Solomon W. Roberts, and his rodman Edward Miller, adding that all three of them had become eminent engineers.

It would be interesting, especially to engineers of today, to have a look at the compasses, transits and levels used by these early engineers. With land then plentiful and cheap, perhaps the faithful compass satisfied most requirements in running lines and turning angles. Leveling on canal work, however, demanded close precision. We know that Canvass White, at the inception of the work on the earlier Erie Canal, was sent to England to observe new and important innovations in canal construction there, and to bring back improved instruments for use in laying out and leveling on the Erie project.

Work on the Lehigh and Delaware Canal was nearing completion in 1830 when the Welch brothers were called northward to the home of their mother at Albany, where she died on June 4th. Her early death at fifty-five left her sons parentless. The

younger, Ashbel Jr., not yet twenty-one, now found himself without a home to return to between engagements.

The Delaware and Raritan Canal

There was no lull in canal building in the Delaware River area in 1830. The Lehigh and Delaware was completed in that year; and the 102-mile Morris Canal, with 28 locks and 23 rail inclines, which was to extend eastward across hilly northern New Jersey from Phillipsburg to the sea, was within a year of completion. In September, Ashbel was called to Trenton by Canvass White, the chief engineer, to join a team of four division engineers, ready to start construction of the Delaware and Raritan Canal.

The concept of a canal across New Jersey had been advanced as early as 1676 by William Penn. In the report of Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, which was requested by the United States Senate in 1807, one of the four canals proposed as a system to connect New England with the South was in the general vicinity of the Delaware and Raritan route. The final route of this canal across Jersey was surveyed by John Randel Jr. in 1816 and was followed generally, with but few changes, by Canvass White in 1830. The care that went into the selection of the route accounted in part for its comparatively low cost, though good supervision complemented the wise planning.

In its earliest decades, the Delaware and Raritan Canal had the largest channel of any canal in the country except the shorter Chesapeake and Delaware. With relatively few locks and little hindrance from freshets, its maintenance, like its cost, was low. It commanded traffic between the two great cities of Philadelphia and New York. Its tonnage in 1859, exceeding anything yet carried on the Erie, amounted to 1,699,101 tons, 80 per cent of which was anthracite coal from Pennsylvania, much of it brought down through the canal feeder.

The main canal, connecting Bordentown on the Delaware with New Brunswick on the Raritan, was 44 miles long, with a width of 75 feet and a depth of 7 feet. 27 locks with a total ascent of

115 feet accommodated its varying elevations. The feeder, taking water from the Delaware above Lambertville and joining the main channel at Trenton, had a length of nearly 23 miles, width of 60 feet and a depth of 6 feet. 60 bridges, 31 of them draw, crossed these two channels, and 24 aqueducts carried them over various roads and streams. As to its original cost, $2,500,000 went for construction, and $265,000 covered right of way. Much of the right of way was donated by adjacent land owners in anticipation of the benefit that would come to them and to the area.

The completion of this project in less than four years was hailed as a master feat of engineering. It was all the more remarkable when one takes into account the fact that mammoth digging and earth-moving machinery—not to mention powered concrete mixing plants—were not yet dreamed of. Railroads could not be called on to bring in supplies and material. In fact, had the railroads come first, there would have been but few canals to be dug. Thousands of workmen were employed. Thousands of picks, shovels, crowbars, mauls and hand drills were the tools, aided by hundreds of wheelbarrows, carts and wagons.

The work was expedited by dividing the project into divisions and subdividing these into sections. The eastern division was under John Hopkins, the middle under George T. Olmstead, and Edward A. Douglas had charge of the work through Trenton and southwestward to the Delaware. Ashbel Welch Jr., the youngest engineer, was placed in charge of digging the feeder northwestward from Trenton early in 1832. His older brother, Sylvester, now thirty-three, had been made principal engineer of the Allegheny Portage Railway, a part of the 400-mile canal route between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Digging the Feeder

In May 1832, Ashbel Welch Jr. selected Lambertville for his headquarters as the most suitable place for his newly given charge of building the canal feeder. Here he made his residence, became a citizen of New Jersey, and on December 14th united with the small local Presbyterian church. Thenceforth Lambert-

ville remained his home place during all the busy years of his eventful life.

Unhappily, in Welch's first year at Lambertville, a severe epidemic of Asiatic cholera broke out among the workmen digging the feeder. This was made all the more serious by the fact that the men's living quarters, just south of the town, were dangerously close to their work. Written accounts tell of men "dropping on their feet" and of growing panic throughout the area.

Most of the many workmen engaged on the job were illiterate Irish imigrants. They were poor and uncleanly, and largely wanting in any regard for sanitary habits. Housed, some with wives and children, in hastily built shanties, they had no permanence in their way of living to encourage the thought of bettering or fixing up, since these shanty towns were moved from spot to spot as the work advanced along the route. It is no wonder that, once the disease broke out, its spread was appalling.

The young engineer met this terrifying situation with immediate and intelligent action. Three local physicians were appointed as a board of health, with authority to insist upon compliance with all required sanitary measures. Their orders covered the people of the town and its environs as well as the workmen on the feeder. A new, near-by, nearly completed house was secured and converted into a hospital. Male negroes of the area, regarded as quite immune from the dread disease, heroically answered the call for care of the stricken and burial of the dead. Few of the stricken survived. Soon after, the disease broke out in other sections of the work, including the city of Trenton, and was met with measures patterned after those devised in the outbreak at Lambertville. The energetic and intelligent manner in which young Welch dealth with this frightful situation has received due attention in earlier written and published accounts.

Every canal requires a dependable supply of water to operate it, in addition to that needed to replace loss due to seepage and evaporation. Large box-like flumes, called locks, are necessary along the way to lift or lower boats from one elevation to the

other. Every locking operation requires a considerable quantity of water. In short, a canal feeder, as its name implies, functions to supply these various water needs.

Two other requirements, not always a function of feeders, were provided for in this particular one. In addition to supplying water for the needs just mentioned, Welch's feeder was to be a canal in its own right, wide and deep enough to carry standard-size barges. Also required of it was the function of conveying a certain quantity of water from the Delaware through the main channel to the Raritan River. As a result of all these demands, the feeder ended up with a channel larger than that of many important canals, and carrying a heavy tonnage of freight, most of it coal from Pennsylvania mines.

Coming under the operation of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which leased the canal works in 1871, traffic on the canal was both neglected and impeded through a long period. During this time many canals were compelled to yield to the more rapid service and extended penetration of the railroads, which are now, ironically, having to yield in turn to the newer means of transportation offered by motor trucks and airplanes. Tonnage on the canal gradually decreased until operations were abandoned in 1932.

The State of New Jersey acquired all rights of the Delaware and Raritan Canal in 1934 and now attends to the upkeep of the feeder and main channel eastward, impelled by its interest in supplying water from the Delaware to the Raritan. Thus today, a century and a quarter after its construction, the feeder built by our young engineer seems destined to be preserved as a waterway, growing increasingly in importance as it serves more and more the needs of new industrial plants along its way between Trenton and New Brunswick.

To the writer, who has had some experience with water power works, it is not conceivable that the construction of the feeder, given in charge to the young division engineer, presented any less difficult problems than those encountered on the main channel. The course of the feeder followed the winding course of the Delaware River, skirting its edge closely along some of its way. Since it was built along, and bottomed on, a sloping shelf that declined

adversely toward the river, engineering skill of a high order was required to insure an outer bank that would not fail. Its stability must have given pleasing satisfaction to its builder, who lived along it and watched it during the remaining forty-eight years of his life.

The year 1834 was also an eventful one in Welch's life. June 25th saw the Delaware and Raritan Canal completed and opened for traffic. The celebration, two days later, was attended by Governor Vroom and many important dignitaries, including the company directors. The young division engineer was included, and from him a written account of the affair is on record.

More important to him, however, was his triumphant courtship of Mary Hannah Seabrook, granddaughter of Governor John Lambert and daughter of James Seabrook and Miriam Lambert. On October 25, 1834, Ashbel and Hannah were married by Dr. Peter O. Studdiford, who was a lifetime pastor of Lambertville's first Church and was to remain a lifetime friend of the married couple. Hardly were they settled in their new home in Lambertville when they received word that Ashbel's esteemed and respected Chief, Canvass White, had died in Florida, whither he had gone to repair his health.

Expanding Activities

Good news came to the bridegroom early in 1835, when he was but twenty-five. Captain Robert F. Stockton appointed him chief engineer of the newly formed "Joint Companies" of the Delaware and Raritan Canal and the Camden and Amboy Railroad, a position he held for thirty-six years. This highly prized appointment did not turn his capable young head, however, and he kept right on residing in the modest little village of Lambertville.

Until a post-office designation gave it a new name in 1814, Lambertville had long been known as Coryell's Ferry. Less than a dozen houses made up the newly named hamlet. It was then something of a trading post, especially for lumber, which was sold in large quantities on both sides of the river. The first Church, formed by Presbyterians of the neighborhood, laid its cornerstone in August of 1817, and its first regular minister, Peter O. Studdi-

ford, came there as a young man in December of 1821. For lack of better records, the town's growth can best be viewed by noting the beginning dates of its early churches: the Baptists in 1825, the Methodist Church in 1837, the Roman Catholic Church in 1842, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1845. The 1880 census indicated a population of 4183.

On August 15, 1836, Ashbel Welch was appointed Chief Engineer of the Philadelphia and Trenton Railroad. He was also engaged in reconnaissance of the proposed Belvidere and Delaware Railroad, and for the next few years his time was fully occupied. By 1840, however, Captain Stockton had become interested in the design and erection of a new type of gunboat. Welch was associated in this work, along with Stockton and the Swedish engineer and inventor of the screw propeller, John Ericsson. Five years were required to complete this undertaking, the result being the warship Princeton, the first propeller-driven ship built in America, completed in 1845.

During this period Welch had had recognition of a particularly agreeable kind from several sources. In 1843 the College of New Jersey at Princeton, where Joseph Henry was now a professor, conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In 1844 he was sent to England to supervise construction of an order of guns for the United States Navy. And in 1844 he was chosen a ruling elder of his church.

In the fall of 1845, Welch was engaged with Joseph Henry in investigating methods of using telegraphy for expediting canal and railroad traffic. Morse had just been granted patent rights on this new method of communication the previous year. It was Professor Henry who originally conceived and demonstrated the electro-magnetic principles used by Morse in his telegraph key and receiver, and Welch was alert to their usefulness in his expanding field of activity.

Locks, River and Rails

In 1847 the lock at Bordentown failed. This was the western terminus of the Delaware and Raritan Canal. Made of masonry, it had been built, as was accepted practice in situations where

fluid quicksand was found, by confining the bottom with carefully driven fluid-tight piling. A complete replacement had to be made. Mr. Welch departed from all methods then known and decided to build the lock directly on the quicksand bottom itself. No piling, cribbing, or masonry was used. The entire structure was built of heavy timber, divided into watertight compartments, and it was erected at some distance from the site. When it was completed, and the pit had been dredged to receive it, the structure was launched, floated to its position in the pit, and sunk by filling the compartments with clean gravel. Lines of heavy steel watertight piling then were driven in position to protect the inlet and outlet. This ingenious departure from regular practice attracted considerable attention, and thirty-five years later an examination revealed not the slightest settlement.

In the following year interest was re-awakened in the old idea of projecting a railroad from Trenton to Belvidere, New Jersey. To be known as the Belvidere and Delaware, its route was to follow the western bank of the Delaware and Raritan Canal feeder from Trenton to its mouth just north of Lambertville and then proceed along the eastern bank of the Delaware River to Belvidere. Welch had made preliminary surveys and plans for this venture, and with interested associates had obtained corporate rights in March 1836, but the severe depression that followed put a damper on selling the stock. Twelve years later the New Jersey State Legislature validated the earlier charter, the stock was subscribed for, and Welch was put in charge of its construction.

Final surveys were made and construction was started in 1850, and the first sixteen miles to Lambertville were completed in February of the following year. In 1852 the line was extended to Tumble Falls; it continued to Frenchtown in February, 1853, and reached Riegelsville by December. With the extension of this railroad along the winding and ascending river, Welch and his staff were obliged to make careful determinations of rational curves, operating grades, and elevations above destructive river freshets, all in addition to the Chief's other duties as chief engineer of an important busy canal and operating railroad.

(To be continued)

Genealogical Spadework in the Garden State

KENN STRYKER-RODDA

SOME persons with old-fashioned ideas and old-world phraseology have dubbed genealogy a handmaiden to history,[1] while others have spoken of history as a handmaiden to genealogy. If we must be so bemused as to think of them as maidens, let us thing of them as hand-in-hand maidens, helping one another, progressing together. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that, at this meeting of two distinguished historical societies, consideration be given to genealogical research.

The title given to these remarks is supposed to indicate that research in New Jersey is not for the sedentary and the complacent.[2] Work—hard work—unremitting toil—is necessary to achievement. The genealogist's motto is, perforce, the same as that of Consolidated Edison: "Dig we must!"

Most of us first became interested in genealogy when we attempted to trace our own or a spouse's family. But what distinguishes the genealogist from the mere ancestor hound is that the former has broadened his scope beyond an associated family and now has as his prime objective the discovery and dissemination of information concerning persons of the past.

Moreover, so that these persons shall once more live, breathe, and move for us, he goes to history and the related arts and sciences for a re-creation of their environment. Earlier this century, biographers had to re-learn that no man liveth unto himself

THE ACCOMPANYING ADDRESS was delivered by Dr. Stryker-Rodda, D. Litt., F.A.S.G., at a joint meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society and the Atlantic County Historical Society at Atlantic City on May 6, 1961.

[1]See *Genealogy, Handmaid to History,* Lester J. Cappon. Publications of the National Genealogical Society, #17.

[2]Other phases of this topic are presented in the author's article, "That Genealogical Quagmire: New Jersey," in *The National Genealogical Society Quarterly,* June 1960.

alone; many pseudo-genealogists have not yet learned the same lesson, but seek only to, say, fill the 1,022 spaces on a ten-generation ancestry chart. Even a paleozoologist is not content to dump down before us a heap of dinosaur bones, or even to go but a step further and articulate them into a skeleton; no, he clothes that skeleton with simulated flesh, skin, and hair or scales, and puts it into a physical setting reconstructed by a paleobotanist. If a beast that has been extinct lo! these eons is worth such loving reconstruction, how much more so your great-grandfather, who may have lived at Sodom[3] or Turkey[4] in New Jersey!

Here let a plea be entered in behalf of the future genealogist. We often feel that his task will be easy. Will he not have the wonderful results of our work? And the advantage of the comparatively complete records of this century? Moreover, if he wants background material, will it not be easy for him to recapture the social, physical, and other environments of our day from our periodicals, movies, etc.? However, let us in addition prepare for his use the sort of accounts of relatives and others we have known well that we would like to have for our own research: of their physical characteristics, their ailments and diseases, their daily habits, their idiosyncracies—those things that made and make each an individual.

Whenever I discuss genealogical sources, I am reminded of the thesis of an Anglo-Dutch philosopher of the eighteenth century, Bernard de Mandeville, who, in his *Fable of the Bees,* contended that all progress in knowledge is dependent on misfortunes, yea, even calamities. Indeed, if we but stop to think, we realize how much we depend for our information concerning our own and others' ancestors upon their misfortunes. For what but misfortunes were their services in wars—the legal difficulties they experienced—their attempts to extricate themselves from economic troubles through mortgages, loans, or even illegal acts —the depredations of tax collectors—their deaths, that yield for us wills, administrations, inventories, orphans' court minutes,

[3]The best known town of this name in this state is now called Glen Gardner.
[4]Now New Providence.

tombstones? Even, if we are misogynists, what but evidences of misfortune are marriage records, or, if we are thoroughgoing misanthropists, baptismal and birth records?

The principal routine types of genealogical sources have just been indicated. What is their status in New Jersey?

Wills and Such

It is probably easiest to start family research with a study of wills, which so often furnish proof of relationships. Such study was much facilitated by the collection at Trenton, in the 1790s, of all the wills, inventories, administrations, ante-nuptial contracts, marriage licenses, and such papers that had been deposited with the Provincial Secretaries and could be found. Almost all of the will so collected, and, indeed, most of those proved through 1817, were abstracted and published in the New Jersey Archives series early this century, at the instigation of the New Jersey Historical Society.[5] Few other localities have such extensive will-abstracts. These have the virtues and short-comings of any précis. The fact that every one mentioned in connection with a will or administration is supposedly indexed helps us find data concerning persons other than testators and decedents. On the other hand, contrary to apparent public opinion, abstractors and indexers are human beings, subject to such frailties as misinterpretation of handwriting or of the meaning of a complex phrase, and inadvertent omission of a person's name from the abstract itself or from the accompanying index. He who relies exclusively on an abstract, without checking it against the original document, is gardening in a seedstore catalog.

We are indeed fortunate to have so many wills preserved: for the period before 1804, many originals as well as recorded copies at Trenton; thereafter, originals, usually with supporting papers, at the county seats. But in the early days of the colony comparatively few wills were filed for probate, and of those that were, the formality of appearance before a probate court. This tendency

[5]A few omissions were abstracted by the late Charles Carroll Gardner and published in the *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*.

many are not even mentioned in the New Jersey abstracts because they are not deposited at Trenton.

In an essay on testamentary customs, William Nelson[6] pointed out the tendency of the friends and relatives of deceased persons to carry out the latter's expressed or presumed wishes without was strengthened by the difficulty of access to such courts. Here, as everywhere else in genealogical research, one must be familiar with history.

From the beginning of the English occupation to 1738, New Jersey was without a governor of her own; yet, as Lord Cornbury stated in 1707, "The office of Probate of wills, is wherever the Governor is."[7] Therefore, we find, *inter alia,* the 1708 will of Albert Terhune of Hackensack in Liber 7[8] of New York County wills, and, in the next liber, letters of administration in 1712 on the estate of Jacobus Vandewater of Rahway, granted to Cornelius Vanderhoven, brother of the widow Aeltie.[9]

Some governors—notably Andros—had jurisdiction over not only New York and New Jersey, but also New England. Supposedly, all papers on estates valued at £50 or more should have been sent to Boston for probate; but I find none from the Jerseys in the Suffolk County, Massachusetts, papers, though there are a number from New York, including that of Elbert Elberse[10] of Flatlands, progenitor of the Stoothoff family and ancestor of many Jerseymen.[11]

It should also be mentioned that, since very few families originated in East Jersey until the eighteenth century, it is essential for us to be thoroughly familiar with the tools of research in the New England states, on Long Island, and on Staten Island. Actually, New Jersey's last claim to Staten Island was not forfeited until 1833, and it was not uncommon for a resident of Richmond County to hold and use property in Elizabethtown,

[6]*New Jersey Archives* XXIII, Introduction.
[7]*NJA* III, 183.
[8]Page 546.
[9]Liber 8, page 143.
[10]Suffolk County, Massachusetts, wills, # 1680.
[11]See also "When Boston Was the Capital of New Jersey" by Dr. Carlos Godfrey in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* LI, 1ff.

Woodbridge or Piscataway: the Arthur Kill was much more readily crossed by rowboat or ferry than the Upper New York Bay.

Consequently, New York wills often furnish the clue to family relationships in New Jersey. Consider as an example Andries Emans of New Utrecht, whose will, made September 1, 1728,[12] left to his son Hendrick 200 acres at Rocky Hill, N. J.; to son Johannes, 610 acres in Hunterdon County in two tracts; to son Benjamin, 300 acres in Middlesex County; as well as land in Gravesend and New Utrecht to stay-at-home sons Andrew and Jacobus, respectively. Thus one New York will establishes the relationship of five branches of the Emans family, three of which are in this State. Similarly, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Staten Island wills can provide much information concerning the generation that came to Nova Caesarea from those places, and the next generation.

Deeds

Another important way to trace those who came here from other colonies or countries is through deeds, because the earliest deed not infrequently mentions the place in which the grantee formerly lived or was living when he purchased the property, and also, of course, his vocation. Similarly, change of locality within the colony—from, say, Bridgewater Township in Somerset to Lebanon in Hunterdon—often appears in deeds. But where are our Jersey deeds?—if they exist, almost anywhere we happen not to be looking, it seems. Again, the reason is historical.

Since 1664, there have always been two Jerseys, in one sense or another, and, since 1702, the soil has belonged to the Proprietors of East Jersey or of West Jersey until legally deeded to others by them—a fact confirmed by decision of the Supreme Court of this State in 1855, when it recognized the 1743 survey line of John Lawrence as the demarcation between the two

[12]New York County, N. Y., wills, liber 10, page 437.

Jerseys. Therefore, the original conveyances were recorded in the books of the Proprietors, whose headquarters were and still are at Perth Amboy and at Burlington. Some of the pertinent records are still in England, but there are microfilm copies of them at Rutgers. Many of the deeds are recorded in volumes now in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton. Thus, the original transaction between the proprietors and first grantee is often traceable.[13] But the deeds by which the larger tracts were divided were frequently not recorded at all, or not until the owner wished to obtain a mortgage or to resell.

Thus, a deed of November 30, 1731, was not recorded until June 7, 1796, nearly 65 years later, when the grantee's grandsons wished to divide the property for resale.[14] But the deed for an adjoining piece of property was promptly recorded, as was a mortgage for 100 per cent of the purchase price. Why should one go to the trouble and expense of recording a conveyance when there was no real need to? Moreover, not all of those born under a foreign sovereignty bothered to be naturalized, though they could not legally own land until they were.

Incidentally, for the German families in particular, the naturalization papers of those who did become citizens are important genealogical documents. The lists as printed in the *Jerseyman* are not completely accurate. It were better to consult the original applications at the State Library, especially since they contain autographs, or, for 1730, the printed Naturalization Law.[15]

Permit a digression from this digression. The beginning genealogist, having been warned by us gray-beards to get dates and facts from original records, often gets the impression that genealogy is like old-style history: naught but dates of battles: of the battle of birth, the battle of marriage, the battle of death. An autograph, however, is an important part of a person; if you do not believe me, ask your banker. Norman Wittwer and I have traced a certain Ralph Smith around New England and

[13]Some East Jersey transactions of early date are said not to be extant.

[14]Hunterdon County Deeds, II, 3f. Daniel Coxe to John Christian Harshall, a tract in Readington township.

[15]*New Jersey Laws, 1703-1731*, ch. 119, "Law to Naturalize Germans."

New Jersey in the mid-eighteenth century, keeping him separate from others of the same name almost exclusively by his handwriting and signatures.

In most county clerks' offices, mortgages antedate deeds by some years. In Somerset County, the earliest deeds are of 1785, but the earliest mortgages, of 1765. The Hunterdon Loan Office records, at the Secretary of State's office, not only identify mortgagees as resident in the county in the 1730s and '40s, but also the many who witnessed the transactions. The latters' signatures are usually intact, whereas the principals' have been torn off to indicate settlement.

Court Records

Our county court houses contain many other types of records of value in our search. Road authorizations are often early, and tend to locate the property of those responsible for or requesting the road. Various types of court records should also be consulted, although they are often discouraging to use because at best only the principals' names are indexed. In addition, court calendars can be maddening in indicating that a suit was filed but giving no details except, perhaps, such a cryptic phrase as *caps debt.* Nevertheless, once a person has been located in a circumscribed area at a specific time, it is desirable to study all available documents for that time and place; and court records can yield a surprising amount of information concerning third parties, witnesses, neighbors, and relatives of the litigants.

The dockets of justices of the peace have furnished many facts, especially concerning marriages and bastardry proceedings. But don't look for any in Somerset County: those having any permanent value are supposed to have been sent to the State Library before the mass of them was destroyed during the 1950s to increase filing space.

A source naturally associated with wills and administrations, but not always indexed with them or cross-indexed to them, is the proceedings of the Orphans' Courts. In using this source,

good research procedure is as important as anywhere else. Careful examination of all papers concerning a person or event is always essential.

Let us consider a case in point. All who had written on the Roelofsen family[16] had listed among the sons of Isaac of the third generation, who died in 1834, an Isaac and a Philip, despite their not being mentioned in his will. Admitted, not all children of testators are always mentioned; there are many possible reasons for their omission, none of which seemed applicable here. This unanimity of ascription of additional sons to Isaac[3] was due to the deplorable habit of genealogists, historians, and others who have not pioneered in the field on which they are writing, to quote or accept uncritically what has been committed to print by a predecessor. The typesetter can confer immortality on the most egregious error. In this case, the Rev. Mr. Chambers had, apparently, unearthed in the Morris County Orphans' Court records[17] the fact that Isaac and Philip Roelofsen, minors over 14 years of age, had prayed to the Court that Elizabeth Roelofsen be appointed their guardian, the prayer receiving favorable consideration in the September term, 1835. Had he gone further, and examined the docket in the case,[18] he would have been confirmed in his error, as the original petition contains the further identification of Elizabeth as their mother—and Isaac's widow's name was Elizabeth. However, if we go back nine more years to July 1826, we find that at that time Isaac had been appointed guardian for these same boys,[19] and that the docket —but not the court decision—identifies them as "children and heirs of David Roelofsen, deceased," which makes the Elizabeth of 1835 David's relict, the former Elizabeth Frone,[20] and the boys grandsons of Isaac instead of sons. But what's a generation to a sloppy researcher?

[16]Started by the Rev. Theodore Frelinghuysen Chambers in *The Early Germans of New Jersey: Their History, Churches, and Genealogies,* 1895.

[17]Morris County Orphans' Court Book F, page 400.

[18]Box 27, # 11.

[19]Box 38, # 41; Orphans' Court Book E, pages 150, 151.

[20]For their marriage, see *GMNJ* VI 26.

Births, Marriages, Deaths

Now, what of our vital records? New Jersey was the third state to have compulsory registration laws, preceded only by Vermont, 1779, and Massachusetts, 1842. Since 1848, all births, marriages, and deaths are supposed to have been reported to the State Board of Health. It is probably safe to estimate about 85 per cent compliance with the law during the first decade, with a sharp increase thereafter. Only those who have had the sad experience of trying to work on New York genealogy of the nineteenth century can fully appreciate the foresightedness of the Jersey legislators.

Early residents of the colony had paid little attention to laws requiring registration of vital statistics[21]—supposedly on religious grounds at times, but actually because of a suspicion that any recording of a name would lead to taxation. The compulsory registration of marriages as of 1795 was somewhat better obeyed. Most of these marriage records have been published in newspaper, magazine, or book form.[22]

In addition, there were some 10,000 marriage bonds issued between 1665 and 1800. The names and counties of residence of prospective brides and grooms were published in the New Jersey *Archives,* volume 22, and corrections for the earlier years were later prepared by Charles Carroll Gardner and published in the *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*. The originals, which can still be consulted in the Secretary of State's office, also furnish the names of fellowbondsmen (usually relatives), with their autographs and those of the grooms, and occasionally an addi-

[21]As early as 1675 the East Jersey Assembly had passed an act requiring registers of marriages to be kept by town clerks, and the Fundamental Constitution of East Jersey of 1683 provided for the registration in each county of births, marriages, and burials. In the same year, the West Jersey assembly required registration of marriages by counties.

[22]e.g., Hunterdon County marriages, 1795-1875, published by Hiram Deats; Somerset County marriages in the *Somerset County Historical Quarterly;* Morris County and Essex County marriages in *GMNJ;* Monmouth County marriages in the Monmouth County *Democrat.*

tional fact, such as previous marital status. The State Archivist[23] optimistically estimates that these bonds cover 25 per cent of the marriages in the colony and state during the period. The rest that were legally performed were based on the publication of banns and would be matters of church record, if any. Moreover, many were married in other states, especially New York and Pennsylvania.

What of the ecclesiastical records of births, marriages, and deaths? The answer must be general. Specific details are to be found in the Historical Record Survey's *Guide to Vital Statistics in New Jersey,* volume 2, or E. K. Kirkham's *A Survey of American Church Records,* volume 1, neither of which is complete or completely accurate, partly because of the unco-operative attitude of many church clerks and clergymen.[24]

We must remember that, during the first century of the occupation of East Jersey, more than half of its inhabitants were of Dutch ancestry, largely from families of Kings, New York, Richmond, Orange, and Albany counties. Most of the others were from British families that had originally settled in New England, some of which came thence by way of Long Island. The Dutch kept careful records, especially of baptisms, and their tradition of recording mothers' maiden names partially compensates for the comparative dearth of marriage records. Most of the early Protestant Reformed Dutch Church records were transcribed for the Holland Society more than a half century ago; many have been published by that and other societies; and microfilms of the transcripts have recently been made available. Some records are in what might seem inappropriate places: the earliest ones of Six Mile Run (July 13, 1710 to October 24, 1711) being at North-South Hampton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, probably because of the migration of a pastor.[25] A

[23]*Genealogical Research: A Guide to Source Materials in the New Jersey State Library and Other State Agencies,* Rebecca Schlam and Kenneth W. Richards, July 1957.

[24]Kirkham's *Survey* lists only one transcript of records, although there are sometimes several, as, for instance, of the Harlingen P.R.D. baptisms.

[25]Published by the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania in March 1912.

similar fate has befallen even more modern records: the entire book of baptisms, marriages, and communicants of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church of Bergen Point, New Jersey, 1854 to 1892, is at the Old First Church in Brooklyn, New York.[26]

Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, considering their notes concerning baptisms, marriages, and funeral services as personal, put them into their capacious pockets or saddlebags when they moved on to another parrish. In many instances, widely scattered tiny congregations, often without church buildings, were visited by itinerant preachers at various intervals. The records of one such Church of England circuit, covering Amwell, Ringoes, Kingwood, and Musconetcong in West Jersey, from 1768 to 1795, was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History,* volume 12. And we must remember that many records —ecclesiastical, private, and public—were lost, destroyed, or purloined during the Revolution, and that our church buildings and clerks' homes and barns have been far from incombustible, mildew-resistant, or mouseproof.

For West Jersey in particular, but to some extent for the entire state, the careful records of the Society of Friends have been well preserved. Most of them are on deposit in Philadelphia, in New York City,[27] or at Swarthmore College, and many have been published in abstract form in Hinshaw's monumental *Encyclopaedia of American Quaker Genealogy.*[28]

Ear Marks, Estrays and Family Papers

To most of the people of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, cattle were most important possessions. Yet livestock has always had a *wanderlust.* Hence, two types of records in town clerks' books: ear marks and estrays. These not only place a person in a particular locality at a particular time

[26]Microfilmed copy, with index by (Mrs.) Harriet Stryker-Rodda, at Long Island Historical Society.

[27]302 Arch Street, Philadelphia. 221 East 15th Street, New York City.

[28]Among important out-of-state publications of New Jersey records, that of the Elizabethtown Presbyterian Church sexton's accounts for the years 1766 to 1800 in the *New England Historic Genealogical Register* should be mentioned.

(the basic genealogic fact); in addition, the name of the former user of an old earmark was normally recorded, sometimes with a notation concerning his death, his removal, or his relationship to the new applicant. Oliver Drake, having found the Piscataway earmarks personally helpful, has been transcribing them for publication for several years.[29] Many earmarks are in township records, possibly still in the hands of town clerks or at the State Library. Those for Middletown, Monmouth County, from 1700 to 1855, with estrays for much of the period, are in the library of the New-York Historical Society, which has also such Jersey material as the Shrewsbury poor book and road records from 1743 to 1840, the Dover Town Book, and, of course, the James Alexander papers.

These last—thirty-two boxes of them—include letters, surveys, jury lists, maps, notes, briefs, and other legal papers concerning New York and East Jersey from 1716 to 1756. For Morris and Somerset counties they are especially valuable, containing much, for example, about the Peapack patent. There are also some Alexander papers at the New Jersey Historical Society.

For West Jersey, the voluminous Penn papers and Logan papers, both housed in Philadelphia, are equally useful. The papers of an important person or of a family have as much information for us as for the biographer or economic and social historian. Who hasn't found a hitherto missing link or explanatory fact in the Bronson papers at the New York Public Library, the Morris papers at Rutgers, the Dickerson papers at this Society's library, the Emley papers at the Hunterdon County Historical Society, to mention collections at random? (That was meant as a rhetorical question, but if you have not, you have been missing important source material.)

Libraries and Maps

At last we have arrived at most people's starting point: the libraries. We have three fine research libraries in this State: the

[29] *GMNJ* XX, 10 *et passim ad* XXXVI, 56, and to be continued.

headquarters of this Society in Newark; Rutgers University Library in New Brunswick, in which are also on deposit, primarily for the use of its members, the manuscript collections of the Genealogical Society of New Jersey; and the State Library at Trenton, which will be even more useful when the new archives building has been erected. Several communities and local historical societies have manuscript collections as well as standard printed works. Much important New Jersey material is in the collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, the New-York Historical Society, and the New York Public Library.

Each library has some family file, in addition to published genealogies. The Charles Carroll Gardner card files and other notes at this Society and at Rutgers are unique, and indispensable, especially for Essex County. The State Library has an analytical card index to marriages and deaths reported in Trenton newspapers from 1776 to 1900. This Society has a similar file for various parts of the state, as well as the Canfield transcripts of marriages and deaths recorded in Morristown papers from 1798 to 1849. These are just representative of the special files and indexes to be found in a good reference library.

Both the local chapters of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Genealogical Society of New Jersey have been active collectors and transcribers of Bible records and tombstone inscriptions. The D.A.R. material may be found both at national headquarters and on the shelves of this Society; that of the Genealogical Society (which is justly noted for its accuracy) at Rutgers and, partially, in its magazine.[30] Especially for the period before 1850, these—Bibles and tombstones—are the essential sources of vital information.

One cannot make much progress in locating people without map study, or in learning about them without placing them geographically as well as temporally. All of the libraries have maps, atlases (including excellent county atlases, usually of the 1870s), and some manuscript surveys. This Society recently re-

[30] *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, otherwise *GMNJ*.

publihed William Faden's 1778 map of the Province of New Jersey, which is especially valuable because it shows place names no longer used. Unique are the maps of Dr. D. Stanton Hammond, who has prepared a genealogical map of the old Town of Bergen and a township map of Burlington County, and will soon have ready for reproduction a map of Hunterdon County, showing original patents and subsequent transfers and subdivisions. Dr. Hammond's maps are published by the Genealogical Society of New Jersey.

Published genealogies and local histories have not been mentioned because they are, quite rightly, the first reference books consulted at the beginning of a search, and warnings concerning their use would take a whole lecture.

Hidden Sources

Research in New Jersey is endlessly frustrating, and just as endlessly rewarding. It demands ingenuity. Therefore, each genealogist has his own "hidden sources."

One haunts libraries, bookshops, and old houses, seeking diaries or letters in which, amid the chaff of commonplace observation and trite philosophizing there is often a grain of genealogical fact to glean: "Grandpa Coemans died in Ft. Wayne last Thursday; he went West the year I was married"; or "Rebecca Crane attended meeting with her hired farmer tonight —and poor Frank not cold in his grave"; or "Yesterday the Jukes had another baby that they're naming George Will after his grandfather Kallikak; it's their 17th: 'to them that hath . . .' " These are fictitious, but typical of diary entries, each with a succulent genealogical kernel.

Another genealogist, having once found a parentage through scrutiny of the books of, say Lodge # 702 of the Honorable and Ancient Order of Descendants of Indigent Costermongers, regularly searches the membership rolls of fraternal organizations and educational institutions, even though he realizes that what he finds will be but clues—no more reliable than the memory

of the person furnishing the information and the accuracy of transcription of that information into the books.

Three of my own favorite types of unusual sources are morticians' records, account books, and tax lists.

On Long Island, morticians' accounts are often the only records of death. Unfortunately, however, there are available but few sets of undertakers' records for New Jersey, especially for an early period. The accounts of three coffin-making carpenters have been published: those of William and Jacob Lawrence of Monmouth County, 1756 to 1808, of Captain Nichols of Newark, 1761 to 1795, and of Zophar Lyon of Lyons Farms, 1799 to 1831[31] —each of which furnishes exact or approximate death dates and some relationships, explicit or implied. One of my great-grandfathers was an undertaker: that is, he was a carpenter in a rural community, and therefore had the lumber and nails essential to the making of burial boxes; what more was needed—namely, ice to preserve the cadaver, and flowers to mask the odor of its decay—originated in his pond and in his wife's garden. Except in cities there were few professional morticians until late in the nineteenth century, by which time the public records of New Jersey were well established.

Account books are a particularly fertile source of relationships, but often contain considerable additional information, or clues and inferences that suggest further research. In the ledger of storekeeper John Vanderveer of Bedminster,[32] John Castner, Jr., Daniel Castner, Jr., and Elizabeth Castner are identified as children of John Castner, the smith; as John, Sr. inconsiderately died intestate, these entries are our only proof of these relationships.

As I have had the privilege of demonstrating elsewhere,[33] the store accounts of Jacob Janeway of Bound Brook, covering roughly the decade from 1735, are veritable mines of information. To identify a new charge customer, Janeway recorded his occupation, where he was residing, and his relationship to (or

[31] *GMNJ* XXIV, 68-70, 80-81.
[32] At the Rutgers University Library. It covers the years 1767 to 1776.
[33] *GMNJ* XXX, 1 with installments to XXXV, 96.

a reference from) an old customer. No longer can a Todd genealogy start, as all have done, "The three brothers Todd came from Longford, Ireland, in 1749"; for five Todd brothers, and a sister not identified by name, appear in Janeway's 1735 accounts as old customers. The death date of Jacob Ranger can be closely approximated because his son John charged articles for his father's funeral to the account on August 27, 1740. We can appreciate Janeway's editorializing when he dubs Edmund Ryder "doctor cure-all," feel relieved to find Alexander Thomson "recommended as good pay," and be glad he could characterize Fradrick Stalts as "a good Pallantine"; and at the same time we realize that these comments are part of the genealogical picture of three New Jersey families. Although only one marriage is specifically mentioned (that of the widow of John Alward to James Kelly between January 1735/6 and August 1736), others may be inferred from changes in the nature of orders. When the usual weekly delivery of a half pound of tobacco and a gallon of rum is replaced by or supplemented by an order for 9 yards of osnaburgs, a needle, and a Bible, one suspects the end of a bachelorhood. A careful study of the nature of purchases and of payments can help us recreate at least some phases of these persons' lives. And, by noting who delivered orders to them or for whom they delivered, we can frequently locate pioneers geographically: a difficult task if, as tenant farmers or artisans, they did not purchase land and therefore appear not in deed and mortgage records.

One patent flaw is natural to account books: those who paid cash are mentioned only incidentally, if at all; but concerning those who consistently lived on next year's crops they can tell us much.

Some scorn the use of tax lists, asserting that they are more likely to show the number of hogs a man had than the number of children, the ages of his cattle than his own and his wife's, the state of cultivation of his fields than of his mind. Granted! But the gardener does not throw away his trowel because it is inadequate for stump-removal. Tax lists, despite their limitations, are very useful research tools.

First, they furnish the basic genealogic fact: placement of a person in a specific place at a specific time. In this respect they have the same value as a list of freeholders (such as that of Somerset County in 1753), or of voters (such as that of Hunterdon County of 1738), or of tenants (such as that of the West Jersey Society's Great Tract as of 1735). In one respect they are superior to these or a census, in that not just heads of families but also single men are listed by name.

In addition, we can obtain other facts or at least clues by an imaginative use of these lists. Let me cite a few examples.

It seems probable that David Cormack of Lower Alloways Creek township, Salem County, who was not listed in 1773 but appeared in 1774 as a single man who kept a horse, had just reached the taxable age. Moreover, he may well have been a son of Arthur Cormack, who appeared on both lists, and it may be significant that Arthur's livestock decreased by one the same year David appeared, owning a horse.

In the same township, Isaac Evins was listed as a single man in 1773, but a year later was taxed on 70 acres of land and two "cattle and horses"—probably a horse and a cow. One might suspect a marriage had taken place during the year. A glance at the list of marriage licenses issued[34] showed a bond filed on 18 October 1774 for Isaac Evans of Salem to marry Hannah Carll of Salem. This method is not infallible, as a single man might own land: witness Benjamin Goold of Fairfield township, Cumberland County, who, in September 1774, was taxed as a single man with 100 acres and 3 beasts.

When John Hunsinger, who had been taxed on 227 acres in Gloucester township in 1773, disappeared, but a Mary Hunsinger, taxed on the same number of acres, appeared in 1774, it seemed probable that Mary was John's widow. The will abstracts[35] showed that Mary had renounced administration of John's intestate estate in favor of their son John George on July 26, 1744. Similarly, when a man who had owned 300 acres was replaced by three men of the same surname, formerly considered house-

[34] *NJA* XXII, 127.
[35] *NJA* XXXIV, 263.

holders, each taxed on 100 acres, it would seem probable that they were his sons.

Had we a complete set of tax lists for all of the townships in the state, we would not feel so keenly the loss of the first four federal census schedules for New Jersey. But we do not have complete tax lists. Before 1773 there are a few fugitive ones. For 1773 and/or 1774 there are almost complete lists for 10 of the 11 townships of Burlington, all three precincts of Cape May, all of Cumberland, three townships of Gloucester, all of Salem, and most of Sussex; for the other seven counties there is none until 1778 or later, and there are few sets complete for consecutive years; for Sussex County there is almost nothing except the 1774 list. These ratables, as I hope you know, were microfilmed in 1954, so that several libraries have at least some of them. Part of those for Cape May were printed in the *Cape May Magazine of Genealogy and History;*[36] those of 1779 for Cumberland County have been appearing for several years in the *Vineland Historical Magazine;*[37] and all of the earliest ones are being published serially in the *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey.*[38]

Prescription for Success

From the foregoing remarks it is apparent that New Jersey research is simple—if one is omniscient, able to be omnipresent, profitably unemployed, patient as Job, and as imaginative as a science fiction author. Otherwise, it will remain a matter for patient digging, painstaking cultivation of even the puniest clue, harrowing experiences weeding out our predecessors' errors, with an occasional scanty but welcome harvest that we can celebrate.

[36]For Cape May County, 1774 and selected later years. Contributed by Dr. Carlos Godfrey, *CMMGH* I, 90ff.

[37]Contributed by Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr.

[38]*GMNJ* XXXVI, 51 and to be continued.

ANTIQUERS ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

WAYFARERS ALL

Here we are, home once more from whatever vacations our time and pocketbooks permitted. Some of us went adventuring to places not visited before, some returned to familiar haunts, but wherever we went we could choose to some extent our mode of travel: by car, by boat, by train, plane or bus. As we covered the miles—300 by car, 3,000 by jet in a limited number of hours—did any of us recall that there was once a time when man considered it a privilege to discover the world on his own two feet?

In Colonial days the only way of exploring the world around us was on foot, on horseback, or by boat if a stream went in the direction required. Many an energetic and enterprising young man chose to spend his summers as a wayfarer with a peddler's pack on his back, because this gave him opportunity to see the countryside, provided adventure when he tramped through wilderness or deep and lonely forests, and was fairly sure of guaranteeing a big financial profit at the end of the summer. As long ago as April of 1705 the *Boston News-Letter* reported the death of James Gray, "Chapman or Peddler, that used to go up and down the Country selling of Books, who left a considerable Estate behind him."

To be a pack peddler was no disgrace. Among noted men who began life as peddlers were Bronson Alcott and John Fitch. On his first venture, in the early 19th century, Alcott walked from his home in Connecticut through New Jersey to points farther south selling almanacs and tinware from a tin trunk. He kept a diary in which his daily activities were recorded and in which he referred to himself as a "pedlar."

John Fitch, silversmith of New Jersey, began as a pack peddler selling buttons from house to house and repairing clocks. So successful was he that he managed to set himself up in business in Trenton as a manufacturer of brass and silver buttons, but though some twenty hands were employed to make the buttons, Fitch continued peddling. Later, when he added silversmithing to the business, Fitch is said to have carried as much as £200 worth of silverware on his trips. After the Revolution John Fitch invented a steamboat and was granted permission by the State of New Jersey to maintain steamer passage between Burlington and Philadelphia.

Since pack peddlers carried their wares on their backs, they were limited as to the size and variety of merchandise; but peddlers on horseback could add such objects as "new-fashioned linen wheels," brooms, chairs, and household

utensils of wooden ware. How welcome these men must have been in scattered communities where the "General Store" was as yet unknown, how alluring the peddler's wares must have been, and how the housewives must have relished the news and gossip brought to them from "beyond." Verbal and written messages, even letters, were entrusted to peddlers in days before mail delivery.

Until after the Revolutionary War the condition of such roads as existed made travel difficult — the building of turnpikes only started about 1790—and it was not until the beginning the nineteenth century that the peddler's cart came into use. Even in 1832 the highways of New Jersey could not have offered good traveling, to judge from the experience of the English actress, Fanny Kemble. Going from New York to Philadelphia she recorded that the coach drawn by four horses in which she traveled had to pass over roads deep in red mud, crisscrossed by tree roots and obstructed by stumps, the passengers within being tossed up and down.[1]

Did they have the "wandering foot," these peddlers? No more than some of us, perhaps, who feel there must be a bit of gypsy in our blood. Like the Adventurer in Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows* we want, at times, to "heed the call" and go wayfaring —if only to the Jersey shore. As they set forth, perhaps these pack peddlers of Colonial days would have declared, as did the Adventurer, "'Tis but a banging of the door behind you, a blithesome step forward, and you are out of the old life and into the new!"

In addition to peddlers there were journeymen shoemakers, who farmed in spring and summer, then cobbled for people of the surrounding countryside during the fall and winter months. By 1700 journeymen cobblers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were earning two shillings a pair of shoes in addition to food and lodging, and people dated them in advance just as they did the itinerant weaver.

Wood turner, blacksmith and tinsmith were essential craftsmen in early communities, and their products were part of a peddler's pack. Sometimes the tinsmith sold his own wares from house to house either on foot or a-horse. Later came the tin peddler's cart and one can almost hear it jingling over country roads. Since tinware had to be repaired occasionally, the tinker came into existence. This was an occupation often pursued by gypsies, which may explain the last line of the sign displayed at Buckthorn Inn in New York City:[2]

Four pence a night for a bed
Six pence with supper
No more than five to sleep in one bed
Organ grinders to sleep in the wash house
No dogs allowed upstairs.
No beer allowed in the kitchen
No Razor grinders or Tinkers to be taken in.

Coffee drinking in the American Colonies began when whaling ships

returning from the Orient brought back the coffee beans. At the end of 1716 the *Boston News-Letter* was advertising best Levant coffee —how unfortunate that the price per pound is not stated. With the introduction of the coffee bean tinsmiths were called upon, forthwith, to produce bean roasters, and since coffee beans were no good without a grinder these appeared in various styles, all of them with the basic requirements of a holder for the beans, a crank to grind them, and a drawer or other receptacle into which the ground coffee dropped. These coffee mills were hand made of tin, brass, iron or wood, until in the nineteenth century they began to be manufactured under a patent and boasted a patent stamp. Probably it is one of these, made of cast iron and wood, that the Yankee peddler of Ehninger's painting holds up for display *(See illustration)*. One still finds them on sale in country stores and antique shops. There were tin coffee pots for those who could not afford fine pots of silver or porcelain, some of the tin pots being made in three sections—forerunner of the modern coffee percolator.

Like the wood turner and the blacksmith, the tinsmith was required to prove his skill in the making of a wide variety of objects. As soon as tin was available, foot stoves of tin replaced the earlier wooden ones. The type with which we are most familiar is the square box of tin set in a wooden frame, the four posts of which were shaped by a wood turner. Live coals, a hot soapstone, or a small lamp placed in the stove produced the heat which escaped through perforations in the tin. Meager as such heat must have been, it felt very welcome under the buffalo robe on a sleigh ride, or in a church pew where the hinged door kept the heat of the little stove from escaping into the aisle. There were also little tin stoves to be carried in one's muff.

Who does not enjoy looking over old-time cookie cutters of tin with their fluted edges, the shapes representing flowers, animals and birds, human beings of well-rounded form, even the stars of the heavens? We find the same charming forms in smaller scale, today, intended for *hors d'oeuvre* cutters.

Another household commodity furnished by the tinsmith was the pie closet, which is said to have originated in Pennsylvania but seems to have been used in various parts of the country. Since a housewife baked a number of pies at a time, the tin cupboard provided excellent storage space. Sides, top and bottom of the pie closet were of pierced tin attached to a wooden framework. The perforations were sufficiently fine to keep out flies and other insects; the shelves were of wood; the cupboard stood on legs or else hung from the wall. One such pie closet is in the Newark Museum's collection.

Since bathtubs did not appear until the nineteenth century, tin foot tubs were essential. There were

also tin lanterns and lamps; tin boxes; molds and boxes for candles as well as tin candle sconces for the walls. Such items and innumerable others must have formed part of a peddler's stock once he had a horse and cart with which to travel the roads.

Did the variety offered by the tin peddler's cart of the early nineteenth century seem any more enticing than the small items offered by the pack peddler of a century earlier? From the box carried by the latter came such treasures as pins and needles, scissors, combs, razors, buttons and cotton goods. Did the pack peddler also carry such household wares as chopping knives made by a village blacksmith *(illustrated)* or wooden pie crimpers turned out by some handy man in his spare time?

As already stated, local craftsmen supplied all commodities until their demand brought manufacturers into being. Mary Earle Gould refers to the brothers William and Edward Potterson, natives of Ireland, who in 1770 settled in Berlin, Connecticut, and made large quantities of tinware which they supplied to peddlers. Richardson Wright refers to peddlers' carts "loaded with tinware from Connecticut, pottery from New Jersey, and dress goods from Philadelphia."[3] Even the town merchant, who by the mid-nineteenth century was making stock-buying trips to the big cities, supplied himself when necessary with goods from peddlers' wagons.

Was painted tinware included among a peddler's supplies? It seems to have been extremely popular in the Colonies from the time it was first introduced from China, whence the art of decorating tinware, known as japanning, spread to England and, presumably, to the Continent. Colonial ladies not only wished to own Oriental examples but also to learn the art, as is evident from the following notice that appeared in the Boston *Gazette* for May 24th, 1740:

Japanning.—Whereas John Waghorne, has lately Receiv'd a fresh parcel of materials for the new Method of Japaning, which was Invented in France, for the Amusement and Benefit of the Ladies and is now practiced by most of the Quality and Gentry in Great-Britain, with the greatest Satisfaction; He is also remov'd from the South End to Queen Street; for the Convenience of his Scholars; and such Ladies as desire it, he will attend at their own Houses, but to make the expense less to others, he designs a School at Five Pounds for each Scholar, and to begin on Friday the 30th of this Instant, Boston.

According to Mary Earle Gould, the art of japanning was followed in England from about 1780, and thousands of decorated trays were exported yearly, many examples being copied by American tinsmiths. The decorations were applied with stencilling and by freehand painting in the same manner that designs were applied to "fancy" chairs. In the Newark Museum is a tole tray from England that shows the elaborateness, fine execu-

tion and brilliant coloring characteristic of the best examples. Of less importance were tea canisters and caddies, tea and coffee pots, snuffer trays or oblong bread trays. As Gould cautions in her book,[4] *Antique Tin & Tole Ware,* reproductions of all types of tinware are now flooding the market and a collector needs to distinguish carefully between old and new examples. The same is true of the wooden ware which is still being made and sold, and the would-be collector may easily be misled.

What happened eventually to the romantic peddler and his pack? With the development of our railroads and river traffic the cart ceased to be needed, and the commodities which had formerly met a housewife's needs could now be acquired at the "General Store" — that picturesque center of community news and gossip where the cracker barrel and stove were as much a part of the scene as were the supplies of Bohea tea, yard goods, pure sugar sticks, or penny candy in striped paper bags.

[1]Margaret Armstrong, *Fanny Kemble* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938), p.158.

[2]Richardson Wright, *Hawkers & Walkers in Early America* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927), p.25.

[3]*ibid.,* p.8.

[4]Mary Earle Gould, *Antique Tin & Tole Ware* (Rutland, Vermont, Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1958).

YANKEE PEDDLER. Oil painting by John Whetton Ehninger (1827-1889). Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey. *(Newark Museum Photo.)*

Chopping knives, United States, 17th to 19th centuries. At upper right, chopper made in 1837 by Cyrus Haddin of Newark at his blacksmith shop on Springfield Avenue, near Smith Street. *(Photograph courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.)*

THE EDITOR'S DESK

PROSPERITY RIGHT AND LEFT

The good fortune of our sister states should, when brought to our attention, give us cause to rejoice. For we are, as recent literature has gone to extreme lengths to inform us, all parts of a single continent, and when any part suffers loss, the others must feel themselves thereby proportionately diminished. How much the more heartening should it then be for us when fortune smiles near at hand, and we feel during the sporadic prosperity of our neighbors the exciting pressure of a corresponding enlargement in ourselves.

* * * *

Take, for example, the recent discovery of a deed of purchase executed by Indians and settlers of Bedford, New York, in 1680. By this remarkable instrument the settlers acquired, for $131, no less than 7,673 acres of Westchester County worth about $19,182,500 in today's market. So it is reported in the *New York Times* of October 4th, which adds that the deed, duly signed by seven Indian sachems, is to be put on permanent display in the Town Hall at Bedford Hills. And no wonder.

To the south of us, meanwhile, a less spectacular rise in values has been reported from the city of Philadelphia. St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, mindful of damage "allegedly done" to its fence by British troops in 1778, sent a bill to the British Treasury this summer for $18 in reparations, plus 6 per cent interest on the debt compounded annually for 183 years. The interest, amounting to $756,000, has not, to be sure, been paid; indeed, Chancellor of the Exchequer Selwyn Lloyd intimated that the claim of St. Peter's for reparations lay not against the British Treasury but against the government of either Pennsylvania or the United States. Nevertheless, Mr. Lloyd sent his personal check

for $18 to St. Peter's "as a token of deep regard for the American people," the Church is the richer both in pocket and in heart, the three governments involved are bathed in an atmosphere of good feeling, and some of the glow must surely be felt along the east bank of the Delaware.

* * * *

Farther down the river, at Wilmington, economic advances have brought to birth an important new center for historical research. On the banks of Brandywine Creek, near the spot where E. I. du Pont started a black powder mill in 1802, the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library opened its doors last month. Consolidating the Longwood Library and the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, the new library offers to scholars more than 40,000 volumes and more than one million manuscripts, concerned chiefly with the economic history of the Delaware Valley and its surroundings. Its potential value to any one interested in the history of business in New Jersey should, of course, be obvious.

Virginia seems a bit more remote, but we were pleased to receive a notice from the University of Minnesota Press of a book entitled *Van Meteren's Virginia, 1607-1612*. This is a volume excerpted and translated by Professor John Parker from the *History of the Netherlands* written by the Dutch historian Emanuel Van Meteren, who died in 1612. As a contemporary account of the beginnings and subsequent development of the Virginia enterprise, it is an important historical source.

* * * *

—But surely, Sir, there must be something to be said about New Jersey without making a tour of the Thirteen Colonies before saying it—

Truly, Madam, there is.

For several past issues the *Proceedings* has had its doors open, its arms extended and its spies alerted to official information regarding the 1964 Tercentenary Celebration of the State of New Jersey. At length our expectations have been, in a way, rewarded.

We have received a Fact Sheet at second hand from the Tercentenary Commission, and we gladly pass on to you some of the facts that it contains.

The Tercentenary Celebration, it appears, is being introduced by the Tercentenary Historymobile, a museum on wheels in two etymologically unrelated parts. The trailer part alone is 31 feet long, 12½ feet high and 8 feet wide. The trailer weighs 10 tons; the tractor, 6 tons.

The Historymobile takes two hours to set up and another two hours to take down. It requires three guides, to be stationed as follows: A. at the entrance, B. in the middle, C. at the exit.

Visitors are attracted by the Historymobile's 1. huge size; 2. new blue-white-gold outside; 3. 75 KW generator which con stantly runs during displays; 4. flashing lights; 5. flying flags; 6. exciting and colorful atmosphere.

The Historymobile will be on the road from April 1st through November 30th. It may be routed through any community in the State upon request.

And in case any one wants to know what the Historymobile has inside it, there are "Ten dramatic exhibits using the latest techniques of industrial design and museum presentation methods to present an exciting portrait of New Jersey's beginnings."

* * * *

As to what the exhibits exhibit and the presentation methods present, we know not, but we have it on good authority that it is all decidedly worth seeing. By now, however, no coaxing can possibly be needed to popularize the Museum on Wheels. Those six attractions! Those flashing lights! Those flying flags!

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

FROM THE LIBRARY

Recent Acquisitions

New Jersey History

Athletics at Princeton, a History, comp. and ed. by Frank Presbrey and James Hugh Moffatt (New York, 1901). Purchase.

The Book of Sunnybank, by Albert Payson Terhune (New York, 1934). Purchase.

Duodecennial Record of the Class of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-Seven, Princeton University, Number Four, 1909 (Princeton, 1909). Purchase.

Fort Monmouth History and Place Names, 1917-1961 (Fort Monmouth, 1961). Gift of Miss Helen C. Phillips, Chief, Museum and Historical Division, Fort Monmouth.

God's Way in the Deep: a Discourse on the Occasion of the Wreck of the Arctic, *Delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Burlington, N.J., October 15, 1854,* by Cortlandt Van Rensselaer (Philadelphia, 1854). Purchase.

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